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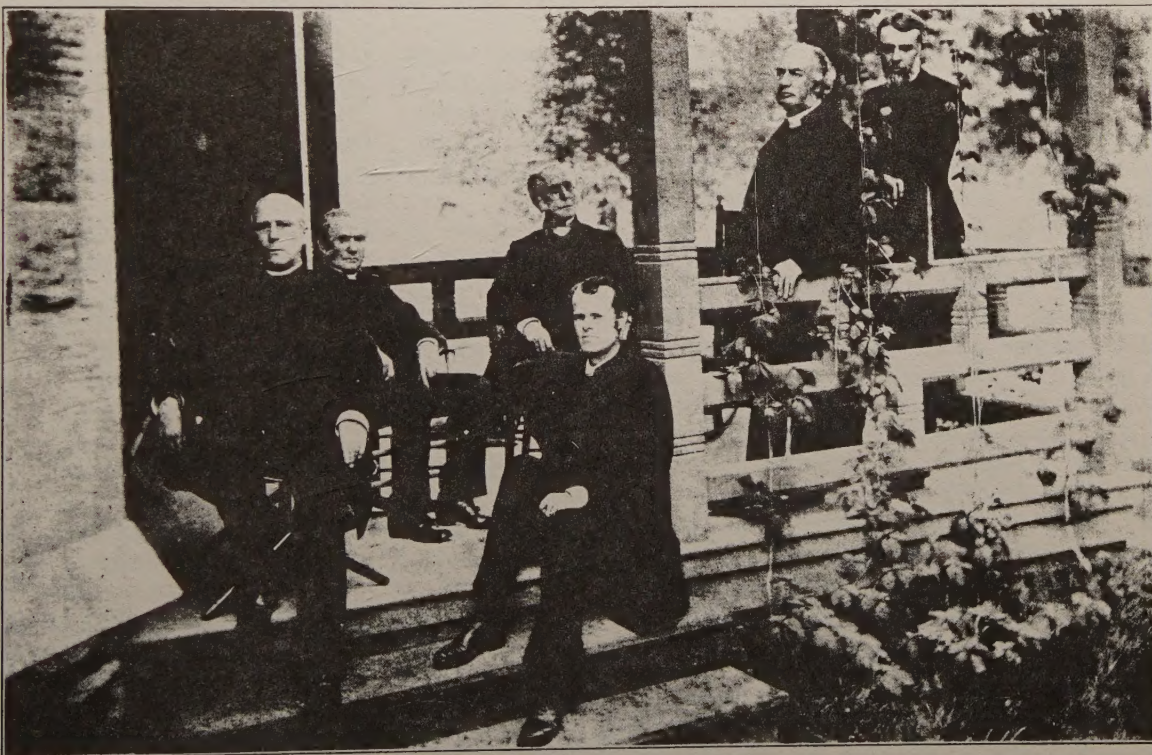
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A LAY APOLOGIST FOR SEABURY AND THE CHURCH AGAINST
THE BAPTISTS IN 1793—EZRA GRISWOLD..... 39

THE LIBRARY OF THE REV. DR. THOMAS BRADBURY
CHANDLER..... 55

BISHOP SEABURY AND THE EPISCOPAL RECORDER: A
VINDICATION BY WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY..... 70

DEC 03 1980



Bp. John Williams with the Standing Committee, 1887

A LAY APOLOGIST FOR SEABURY AND THE CHURCH AGAINST THE BAPTISTS
IN 1793—EZRA GRISWOLD

Although Ashbel Gillet's provoking letter of November 25, 1790, and his unchristian behavior toward Griswold in his pulpit in Wintonbury (now Bloomfield), Conn., a few months later (see p. 47 overleaf) might have invited a more immediate Answer, Ezra Griswold held his fire until May 31, 1793, when he released a pamphlet reflecting honor on the Simsbury clan and much local respect for the Episcopal Church. He was a younger brother of Alexander Viets Griswold, a son of Elisha Griswold and Eunice Viets (sister of the Rev. Roger Viets), who had been baptized by his uncle at Turkey Hills on March 14, 1768 and married to Ruth Roberts in 1789 by the Rev. Ambrose Todd, Viet's successor at St. Andrew's. In the 1830's he lived in Worthington, Ohio, "where he became zealously instrumental in the first organization of our Church in that Diocese and in the election of its first Bishop." His Answer reflects a good mind and heart, a wide acquaintance with the controversies of the day, a familiarity with John Bowden's A Letter from a Weaver (see p. 17), and a contempt for Ethan Allen's deism (p. 12). Like Bowden, he liked to clinch an argument with a proverb (p. 15) and wrote with controlled humor, the title page of his Answer offering an example: "In this Letter the Protestant Episcopal Church is sufficiently vindicated against all the assaults of Devils, Papists, Deists, and Dissenters of every denomination; or all Imposters whatsoever." (Gillet got the point!)

Although the principal adversaries of the Church for a century and a half had been the Congregationalists, after the Peace the Baptists began to thrive in Connecticut, speaking rudely of all forms of religious polity that respected discipline, history or structure in ecclesiastical government. One glance at Hartford County, in which the Griswold-Gillet battle occurred, will be instructive. Baptist congregations sprang up in Farmington (1739), Suffield (1775), Bristol (1780), Wintonbury or Bloomfield (1786), Hartford and Windsor (1789), Somers (1790) and Enfield (1792). Simsbury, Ezra Griswold's home town, organized a Baptist group in 1793, the year of the Answer. I have discovered little about Isaac Backus beyond the fact that he was "ordained" a minister (after the Baptist fashion) and was not considered a layman. He seems to have published nothing, but behind his labors was that aggressive spokesman for the Baptist point of view in all New England, the Rev. Isaac Backus, who had been born in Norwich, though ordained at Middleborough, Plymouth County, Mass., on April 13, 1748, and eight years later installed in the First Baptist Church there, continuing to serve one congregation until his death on Nov. 20, 1806, at the age of 83. By published letters, tracts and sermons he unceasingly denounced all the denominations, provoking replies from them. His A History of New England. With Particular Reference to the...Baptists, (2 vols., Boston, 1777-1784; 3 vols., Boston, 1777-1796) is a mine of polemic, parochial and biographical detail. Accusing the other sects of power politics and the suppression of religious freedom, in chapter 42 he dealt with the Baptist dispersion in Connecticut, and in chapter 31 devoted three pages to Bishop Seabury as an imported tyrant, an emissary from the Papacy! After reading the following passage, one can understand the climate in which Griswold's Answer was written.

"As Congregational and Presbyterian ministers have done this [i.e., forced the world to support their worship], and hold to a successive power to do it, which came through the church of Rome, a minister who was born in Connecticut, obtained the title of Bishop of Connecticut, in a more direct line than our ministers have done. For he was ordained Bishop of Connecticut by three bishops in Scotland, November 14, 1784, who derived their succession from three [sic] bishops in England, who refused to swear allegiance to King William, after he had driven the popish King James from the throne. So that his line came directly from the church of Rome, without any connection with the government of Great Britain for a hundred years past. And this bishop holds that his authority came from Christ, as much as any man can.... [W]here can we find that the apostles called any ministers Priests, in distinction from other brethren of the church? Until such a word can be found in their writings, we may boldly reject all pretences to the Christian priesthood in all men who give no evidence of their being born again of the Spirit of God. And as soon as this man assumed the character of Bishop of Connecticut, it caused great concern in the church of England...."

47

And my plain method of reproof, which is better than the kisses of an enemy, I expect you will excuse, when you reflect how you told your congregation to my face, *that I was sent there by the grana adversary, the devil, against the cause of true religion*: to say nothing of the many false and slanderous secret reports, and backbitings, inconsistent with the spirit of true religion. But all this I forgive. And I have no ill will towards you, or any other man, or denomination of men, for their religion. But I wish to love and esteem the good thoughts, and virtuous actions of all sects and denominations of men, equal: and to have an equal abhorrence to the false sentiments, and wicked practices, of all men, let them be churchmen, baptists, or any thing else; according to the several degrees of virtue and vice.

And now, sir, for writing this letter, you may call or think me a friend or an enemy, as best agrees with your own will, or conscience. But for me it is enough to know that I have (in this particular) *done as I would be done by*.

SIMSBURY, May 31, 1793.



A N

AN SWER T O

MR. ASHBEL GILLET'S LETTER:

Elder of the BAPTIST CHURCH IN WINTONBURY.

THE SECOND EDITION:

CORRECTED, AMENDED, AND ENLARGED.



BY EZRA GRISWOLD,

A MEMBER OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN AMERICA.



"If I speak truth, why then the truth deny?
"If I false, why not convince me by reply?"

In this Letter the Protestant Episcopal Church is sufficiently vindicated against all the assaults of Devils, Papists, Deists, and Diffusers of every denomination; or all imposters whatsoever.

Beloved believe not every spirit but try the spirits whether they are of God. For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts will they heap to themselves Teachers having itching ears. If a man thinketh himself to be something when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself. But let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another.

1 John iv. 1. 2 Tim. iv 3. Gal. vi. 3. 4.



H A R T F O R D:
PRINTED BY HUDSON AND GOODWIN,

M,DCC,XCIII,

S I R,

RECEIVED your letter dated November 25th, 1790. I looked that it should bring forth sense and it brought forth nonsense. But let it bring for what it will, shall give it an answer in as concise a manner as possible. Shewing first, That the Church of England is agreeable to scripture. Secondly, That the Baptist Church is not. Thirdly, Answer such assertions, questions and objections, as you and others of your persuasion have advanced.

1. That the Church of England is agreeable to scripture. In the Church of England there are three orders of Church officers, viz. Bishops, Priests and Deacons, this is agreeable to scripture. For in the Jewish Church there were three orders, viz. High Priest, Priests, and Levites. In Christ's time there were three orders, Christ himself, the twelve Apostles, and the seventy Disciples. In the Apostolic age there was the Apostles, the Elders and the Deacons. Or as St. Paul makes the distinction, *First, Apostles: secondarily, Prophets: thirdly, Teachers, 1st Cor. xii. 28.* Thus a treble order of Church officers hath wore a divine countenance in the Church of God, ever since Aarons time.

As Aaron was "called of God" or ordained by an outward visible call, as you may see Exo. xxx. 30. 20. and xl. 13, 14, 15, 16. So was Jesus Christ, Mat. iii. 16, 17. So were the eleven Apostles, Mat. xxviii. 19. John xx. 21, &c. So was St. Paul, Acts ix.* So were Timothy and Titus, 1 Tim. iv. 14. 2 Tim. i. 6. Titus i. 5. And so are our Bishops. As it was the Jewish custom to read God's law to the people, Neh. viii. so it was the custom of Christ to read it in the synagogue of the Jews on their sabbath, Luke iv. 16, 17. It was the same in the Apostles

* Thus St. Pauls ordination was an outward one, will appear hereafter.

days. Acts xiii. 15, 17, and the same practice was commanded to be retained, Gal. iv. 16, 1 Thes. v. 27, and the same practice is retained in our Church unto this day. As in the Jewish Church the three orders held different degrees of power. The High Priest holding the first rank, so it was in Christ's time. The authority of High Priest, being communicated by God the Father to the human nature of Jesus Christ, he ordained too other lower orders, viz. the twelve Apostles, and the seventy Disciples, holding the first rank in the Church himself in person, and the power of sending forth labourers into his harvest, as appears from Matt. ix. 38. Luke x. 2. But after he arose from the dead, he committed the ecclesiastical government of the Church into the hands of the Apostles,* and straitway ascended into Heaven, where he now sits in glory at the right hand of God.

And the Apostles being now sent by Christ as he was by his Father, we behold them presently ordaining (as Christ did) two orders below themselves, viz. Elders and Deacons, that the Church of God might consist of three orders of ministers, after Christ's resurrection, agreeable to the emblematical signification of the triple order in the Jewish Priesthood. But these two inferior orders neither of them had any power to ordain,† this was the just prerogative of the Apostles. So it is now, in our Church the Bishops hold the power of ordination of which the Presbyters and Deacons are wholly destitute. The Bishops can ordain in company, or one Bishop alone. So it was in the Apostles times, each Apostle had a High Priests commission, and they could not only ordain in company as when they commissioned the Apostle St. Matthias, Acts i. 25, 26, or appointed the seven Deacons, Acts vi. 6. But they could ordain

* Matt. xxviii. 19. John xx. 21. &c. † To suppose they had without scripture to prove it, is very much like saying a flock of goats may ordain because the scriptures no where in particular deny it.

severally, thus the Apostles Barnabas and Paul ordained Elders in every Church, Acts xiv. 23. And St. Paul as an individual, ordained Timothy and Titus, transmitting to them the Apostolic commission in a lineal succession. And Titus as an individual had power to ordain Elders in every city (Titus ~~1. 5.~~ 1. 5.) as our Bishops have within the limits of their respective Diocesses. The same may be said of Timothy.

And as to our practice of kneeling, it is as much a scriptural posture in prayer as prayer itself is a christian duty, which the texts following plainly evince. Thus (says Moses) *I fell down before the Lord, forty days and forty nights, and prayed unto the Lord.* Deut. ix. 25, 26. So likewise, King Solomon practised kneeling, 1 Kings viii. 54. And the Jewish priests observed the same reverential posture when they prayed. Thus Ezra the Priest at the evening sacrifice fell upon his knees and spread out his hands unto the Lord his God, and said O my God: I am ashamed and blush to lift up my face to thee my God: for our iniquities are increased over our head, and our trespass is grown up unto the Heavens. Ezra ix. 5, 6. So Christ and his Apostles prayed kneeling. Luke xxii. 41. Acts ix. 40, xx. 36, xxi. 5, and vii. 60. Bowing and kneeling has been universally practised by God's people through all ages of the world; and according to the testimony of St. John, is to be the joint practice of the Church triumphant thro' eternal ages. Rev. iv. 10, v. 8, 14, and vii. 11. But what need have we of the scriptures to shew the propriety of a bodily prostration in worship? have we not the spirit in our favour? dictating the inspired Methodists to pray kneeling? But to return, I would add further, that our Church does by baptism gather of every kind; men, women and children; both bad and good* agreeable to Christ's description of the Church. *The kingdom of Heaven (that is the Church) is like unto a net that was*

* But the Angels shall come forth at the end of the world and sever the wicked from the just. Matt. xiii. 48, 49.

cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind. Matt xii. 47. Thus the English Church agreeth with the scriptures. But suppose that by reason of corruptions it did not agree with the scriptures in some instances, is it not our duty to reform the Church established by Christ and his Apostles rather than create a new one? Especially if we cannot resemble the original better than you have in your undertaking? I pass secondly to shew that the Baptist Church is not agreeable to scripture.

The Baptist Church by what I can learn, consists of but one order of Church officers, whereas the scriptures never speak of less than three. This was the case in the Jewish, and ever hath been in the Christian Church—and I dare you with all the supernatural aid you boast of, to make it appear that Christ's Church does, or ever did, or ever will consist of less than three distinct orders of ecclesiastical officers. Again, Christ says (as I have shewn above) that the Church is like unto a net that was cast into the sea and gathered of every kind, but your Church will not bear this comparison: You have calculated your net for great fish only: Christ his for all kinds, which brings your sentiments in competition with the bible; and therefore if your way is right, then Jesus Christ was in an error. But suppose your church was (as to outward appearance) precisely like the true church, would this demonstrate your church to be of divine original? Are the Methodists any the better for forming themselves into an Episcopal church? There is an infinite difference between two churches; one established by God, the other by human authority, although they are exactly alike as to outward appearance, as much real difference as there is between a sheep and a wolf in sheeps clothing; as much odds as there is between an angel of light and satan, who is only transformed into an angel of light, 2 Cor. xi. 14, 15; therefore it will be no good evidence on your side, altho' you and your brethren do or should transform

yourselves into the Apostles of Jesus Christ, or as the ministers of righteousness, and should "form yourselves into an Episcopal church," without any authority from God so to do, as the Methodists have done. God only has a right to prescribe to us the method of our salvation, and infinite wisdom has revealed to us the way to life, and all those who are not walking in Gods appointed way to Heaven, may find the nearest road to Hell, except you abide by those laws which God requires you to observe, in vain may you plead your own, and the peoples holiness, as Korah and his company did in vindication of their rebellion.* In vain will many say to Christ at the day of Judgment, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name cast out Devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works? the sentence is depart from me I know you not.

I proceed in the third place, to answer such assertions, questions and objections, as you, and some others of your persuasion have advanced.

You ask "what reason we shew for using a form of prayer and praises, &c." And my reasons are the following. First, because God commanded the Jews to use forms, Deut. xxvi. 5, 13, and in the next chapter the people are commanded to say after the Levites, one particular form eleven times, and in the 21st chapter of the same book, there is a form of prayer enjoined in case of uncertain murder; and the Jewish priests were commanded to use a form in blessing. And the Lord spake unto Moses saying, speak unto Aaron and his sons, saying on this wise ye shall bless the children of Israel, saying unto them, the Lord bless thee and keep thee, the Lord make his face shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee, the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee and give thee peace. Num. vi. 22; &c. and in the xxvi chapter of the 1st Chron. there is a form of

* If Korah and his accomplices were all punished with death for rebelling against the Jewish priesthood; do you expect to get to Heaven by following his example in rebelling against the Christian priesthood.

thanksgiving used by the Jews—Blessed be the Lord God of Israel forever and ever, and all the people said Amen and praised the Lord. V. 36, and from Num. x. 35, it appears that Moses prayed in the words of the beginning of the 68th Psalm, and we find 2 Chron v. 13, that the Priest and Levites addressed God in the words of the 136th Psalm; and the people joined in the same form and said the same words, 2 Chron. vii. 3—saying for he is good for his mercy endureth forever. So likewise the fingers appointed by King Jehoshaphat to praise the beauty of Holiness, were to observe the following form of words, Praise the Lord, for his mercy endureth forever, 2 Chron xx. 21, and they sung together by course in praising and giving thanks unto the Lord. Ezra iv. 11. And what are Davids Psalms but stated forms of prayer and praises? Further, Christ used a form himself, knowing that God does not hear with ears continually itching after novelty, like those who go to meeting only to hear extemporary effusions, for he prayed the third time saying the same words, Matt. xxvi. 44. He joined in the Jewish worship which I have proved to be formal; and he gave his disciples a form, Matt. vi. 9. We are told that the Angels and all the Heavenly Host do worship God by forms, Rev. v. 11, 14, &c. vii. 9, &c. and xix. 1, &c. And lastly, we use forms because there can be no orderly public worship without them. These, sir, are my reasons "for using a form of prayer and praises."

It seems to be your desire in the next place to know for what reason the people of our church do say a part of the prayers and praises. I answer for the reason that the minister or any body else prays or praises God, for the same reason the people of Israel had their share in praising God, saying, for he is good, for his mercy endureth forever. Because we cannot worship God as we ought without; for where there is none but the minister who speaks; there is none but he that worships God visibly; and where there

Is not a joint visible worship, there can be no true public worship.

"If Christ (you say*) designed his disciples should use a form; why does he tell his disciples, when they deliver you up to take no thought how, or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak?" Speak to what or to whom? to God? or rather is it not to men? let us open the bible, and see Matt. x. 18, 19, and ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my names sake, for the testimony against them and the Gentiles; but when they deliver you up take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak: thus they were to do when brought before men, but never did Christ direct them in such an extemporary manner to speak to God; but when they asked Him Lord teach us to pray as John also taught his disciples: he gave them an admirable form suited to the christian dispensation: and I earnestly exhort you, Mr. Giller, when you present yourself before the Lord to pray and shew your gifts to remember it; and not to refuse a bodily prostration when you pray, or make confession to Christ, for that is beyond the stubbornness of Devils: for unclean spirits when they saw him fell down before him (and made their confession to him) saying thou art the Son of God. Mark iii. 11.

Again, you say "the power of ordination cannot be in the hands of single persons, because 'tis in the church as a body." If so, pray sir, how did you get your ordination? did the church universal ever come together to ordain you? sure if they did, I should have known it. From this it seems you are no minister of Jesus Christ.

But does not Christ say to his disciples as my Father sent me, even so send I you? Did not the Father send

* Those who wish to see Mr. Giller's letter, may find it inserted word for word in the first edition of this answer.

† The heathen treat their Deities with better manners, than those christians do their God, who make a principle not to kneel. Dan. iii. 7.

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him as an individual? If he did, he sent them as such, for he sent them, as the Father sent him. But since what you assert is not proved, neither am I persuaded it can be, shall only observe by way of query: Did not St. Paul ordain Timothy and Titus, giving to them the same power to ordain others, he was invested with? If this be true (as I believe it is) the power of ordination is in the hands of single persons; contrary to your assertion. But suppose the power of ordination is in the church as a body, since your church is not of Christ's building, let the power of ordination be where it will, your church is not the better for it.

You say "it can't be proved that the authority of the present Bishops descended from the Apostles."

What if it can't be proved? can it be proved that our Bishops do not succeed to, and derive their authority from the Apostles? If not must we, nay has any a right to depart from the Episcopal church, where there is at least a probability of ministerial authority; and embrace your church where there is not even so much as a possibility of legal ecclesiastical power retained.* We all know (or ought to know) that your church is a human invention, and that it had no existence before the reformation.† But no body knows that our bishops have not their commissions from the Apostles, or that they were of human original.‡ But suppose (to please you) that Bishops do not succeed to the Apostles, and that we all knew it, and that we had nothing but their word to prove their authority. What then? Ought not

* I mean if the scriptures are our rule; for they give us no account of the abolition of the primitive priesthood, or the institution of a new one fifteen centuries after Christ; both of which must be true if you are right, and if either of them are true, the scriptures are a false guide.

† Those who opposed infant baptism before the reformation, were as strong churchmen as I am, and never separated from the church; and they who separate now on account of infant baptism, are inexcusable, and must be accountable to God for their schism, even if infant baptism were an error; for no body is compelled to have their children baptized.

‡ If they do, why they should secrete such important knowledge is a question I know not how to answer.

we to believe every word the Bishops say without examining whether they speak true or false, just as the Baptists do their Elders—just as the Papists do the Pope; or our first parents did the Devil? Yes; this is the doctrine you must preach,* for if your hearers knew they were not obliged to believe every word their teachers say, but that they had a right to examine for themselves, some of your followers might be added to the church.

But as it happens our bishops have such a token of their divine authority, as will admit of an infallible distinction between them and all impostors whatsoever; and that it is their lineal succession, which never has, nor can be proved to have arisen since the Apostles, or that it ever has been broken. And it is infinitely impossible for any impostor to have such a token, or for any that have it to be impostors.†

This lineal succession of bishops from the Apostles, not only distinguishes our lawful teachers from all others; but it is as it were a standing miracle in favour of the christian religion; bearing down with irresistible power all argumentative opposition, operating with equal force against both Jews and Papists, Infidels and Deists, and all impostors whatsoever. For if the order of our bishops can be a human invention, why may not the bible be a human invention likewise? If it cannot be proved that the bishops de-

* The first new light sermon that ever I heard of, was delivered to Eve in Paradise, by the Devil; who was likewise the first new light priest that ever preached in this world; new light and knowledge was the theme of his discourse; (for says he) God doth know (implying thereby that he was a teacher sent from God to preach in his name) that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as Gods knowing good and evil—and I defy every baptist minister in America to tell a fairer story, or to preach a better sermon on that subject (I mean of newlight wherein they differ from the Apostolic or Episcopal church) in so few words as the Devil did to Eve, or that they have any more visible or apparent signs, that they are teachers sent by God than he had, and I defy every baptist on earth to shew that they act by nobler principles in believing what their teachers say, than Eve did in believing the Devil.

† I mean the token of a lineal succession which cannot be proved to be of human original, whether it can be proved to be of divine institution by any other argument or not.

scended from the Apostles, how can it be proved that the bible descended from the Apostles? Or that there ever was any Apostles? for if episcopacy being a human cheat could be palm'd upon the church as a divine institution for her form of government; then by the same rule the bible being a human invention could be imposed in like manner as the oracles of God, for her law and guide, which shews the end the Devil has to serve in bending all his power against the priesthood.

Now the same arguments which the Dissenters use against the priesthood, the Deists use against the scriptures. Dissenters say the succession of bishops had a human beginning; altho' none of them can shew how, where, or when it did begin, or how it is possible it could be so—nor can any of them shew a time since the Apostles, when the church was not governed by bishops as superior to presbyters. The Deists say the same of the scriptures; they were not written by those authors whose names they bare; but were forged in after ages and imposed on the world, by human subtlety: but they cannot tell how it was possible it could be done; or when, where, or how it was done. Again, Dissenters say, "If the present bishops do succeed to the Apostles"—if they were of divine original, the succession has been so corrupted since, they cannot be of obligation now. Just so says the Deist of the bible. If (say they) it was the word of God when first compiled, it has been so adulterated in its subsequent transmission, it cannot be so now.* But let the Dissenters prove that the commission which the present bishops hold is not the same which Christ gave to the Apostles; and let their relatives in argument the Deists, shew that the present copies of the bible do not agree with the original, and then the ar-

* See the Deistical Allen's *Oracles of reason*.

guments of Deists and Dissenters may merit some attention.*

The usurpation of the Pope was an artifice of satan to overthrow episcopacy, and he might have done it if there had not been a remnant of faithful bishops and others, that never *bowed their knees to Baal*, but always did from first to last oppose him; for if his infallibility had been every where received, and his claim to an universality of power by every one acknowledged, then the holy scriptures, and the succession of bishops, would necessarily have fallen a sacrifice to his infallibility and universal supremacy. But as soon as the good providence of God brought about the reformation, satan had recourse to another artifice, to abolish episcopacy. And taking advantage of what he had done in polluting the Romish church, and the general inclination fanatics had to be inspired, he embraced the lucky moment, and in his deceptive character of an *Angel of light*,† he insinuated to the distracted crowd of enthusiasts that the primitive ecclesiastical constitution was so defiled with popery, that every rag of it ought to be rejected; and that a new and pure church and priesthood must be instituted by immediate inspiration, whereupon a number of sectaries declared themselves inspired, and that they had an immediate commission from Heaven. And if this artifice had met with universal reception, it would have ended in utter annihilation of the christian priesthood, as well as all written revelation. For God's written word binds all men to the things therein revealed, without addition, or di-

* If it were even true that the scriptures are adulterated, this would not abate their obligation in the least, unless it can be proved that they were not given by inspiration in the first place. For God certainly had an infinite knowledge of every corruption his written word would suffer thro' every age of the world. And if God thro' infinite wisdom, saw fit to establish the bible as the surest guide to all men in all ages, notwithstanding adulteration, then it is as binding on the present age, let it be corrupted or not corrupted, as ever it was on any age, and will be so to the end of time.

† The Devil never appears to deceive in his own shape, for that could not be called deception.

minution; and has rejected all new sentiments of religion with a curse, altho it were delivered by an *Angel from Heaven*, Gal. i. 8, therefore if the artifice of modern revelation, &c. had prevailed, without opposition, the scriptures would have been abolished.

And now the Papists produce the usurpations of all the anti-episcopal sectaries and their false pretences to a new revelation and inspiration, as an argument against the reformation; and would thereby persuade protestants to come under the jurisdiction of the Pope, that so his uncontroled dominion could be extended over all, and so episcopacy be abolished.

And the same stratagem is made use of by the Dissenters; they produce the usurped claim to an universal see of the Pope, and his false pretences to infallibility, and working of miracles, by which the Romish church is so corrupted, ~~and~~ as an argument against episcopacy itself, and would thereby persuade all prelatis to embrace, and bow down before the Popish like jurisdiction of their pretended revelations and special commissions, that prelacy might thereby be destroyed.

And the Deists produce the pretended miracles of the Papal church, and the Pope's pretended infallibility; together with the miraculous operation of the *Spirit*—the inspiration and revelation that is said to be so prevalent among the Dissenters, as an argument against the truth of all miracles, and the divine original of all certain inspiration and revelation, and from the usurped authority of the Popes and Dissenters, they argue against the divine institution of all priests; saying that the priesthood as well as all written revelation, is in like manner a human cheat, and would thereby persuade us to cast off all christian superstition, and embrace the undefiled system of Deism, that so episcopacy might be abolished, and all true religion extinguished.*

* But let the Deists prove that the pretended miracles of Papists and Dissenters, and the pretended divine, but human institutions of every anti-epi-

And thus there is a combination of Devils, Papists, Deists and Dissenters, of every description, uniting all their force to overthrow the priesthood, which notwithstanding always has continued—and God be praised does daily gain ground, which fully shews that the power of earth and hell, of men and devils, shall not prevail against that church which Jesus Christ has built upon a rock. Objection.

“Allowing the present bishops do succeed to the Apostles, their succession runs thro’ popery, and is good for nothing now.”† Answer, whether the succession of bishops does, or does not run thro’ popery, I neither know nor care, for the Pope himself is a lawful bishop, as much as Judas Iscariot was an Apostle, notwithstanding Christ says he was a devil, now if Judas (who was a devil) by virtue of a divine commission, or command, could preach the kingdom of God, cure all manner of diseases, baptize and cast out devils; why may not the Pope by virtue of a divine commission ordain? But what if the Pope is not a lawful bishop? are we beholden to the Pope for our prelatical authority? was there not always bishops that opposed his infallible holiness with all possible energy? But what hinders the Pope from being a lawful bishop? was not the idolatrous priests of the Jews legal priests? did idolatry and other corruptions invalidate the Levitical priesthood? Was not Judas Iscariot one of the twelve Apostles? had not he the same authority in the church with the other Apostles? and was not he a devil? did not Christ say unto Peter *get thee behind me satan*? Was Peter no Apostle? what if the church of Rome is corrupted? Is not the church a visible society of fallible creatures? Is there any who live and sin not? How then can there be such a pure and infallible church as copal denomination, or any one of them, have but one thousandth part of the evidence there is in favour of written revelation and episcopacy, and then we will attend to the grounds of cavils of Deists and Dissenters

† Dogmatical assertions without any kind of proof, do but ill become an honest man.

you and the Pope contend for? the church of Rome is only a corrupt part of the church universal, and one part of the church may be much more corrupted than an other, as it was in the Apostles times. “The churches of Corinth, and Galatia (says Mr. Hooker) were much more corrupt than that of Rome in St. Pauls time.” Those of Thyatira and Pergamos, in a worse state than those of Smyrna and Philadelphia, in St. John’s time, and now the church of Rome is in great pollution. But if *Ephriam is joined to Idols, let him alone. If Israel play the harlot, let not Judah offend.* Hof. iv. 15—17. Since therefore the scriptures give us many an example of corruption, both in the Jewish and Christian church; and since there is no example that those corruptions did unchurch, or invalidate any church officer’s commission; and since there is no account that this ever was to be the case; and since the scriptures (which either are our guide or else a cheat) give no account of the abolition of the primitive church or priesthood, or the institution of a new one. I conclude that all those that pretend to any such thing, are the most inimical to Christianity of any others; and that their pretences are only an artifice of *satan* to blind the eyes of the people: and that likewise the succession of bishops from the Apostles, is good and valid, whether their succession does, or does not “*run through popery.*”

“You say our church is as much a separate church as any in-being, and that we came out of anti-Christian Rome in Luthers days.”*

Our church is the same that she was from the beginning, and the church of Rome is a Christian, not an anti-Christian church; altho’ in some things she may have err’d: she still stands upon apostolic foundation; and blessed be God we have not gone off from the foundation of the true old church of Christ, because it wanted some good people to reform it and erected a new one as you have done. For *no man* (in his

* And what did you and your set come out of, or were you never generated.

right mind) *having drunk old wine, strait way desireth new, for he saith the old is better.*

The next bold assertion is that “Infant Baptism is nothing but a pillar of popery; and that there is not one syllable of proof in the word of God for it.”*

That there is evidence of it in the word of God I affirm and will presently make it appear. But suppose there is none at all. What then? have not we as good a right to baptize our children without any proof, as you have to preach and administer the sacraments without any proof of your authority? have we not the same right to baptize without scripture, that you have to rebaptize without scripture? may not we baptize infants without any warrant from scripture by the same rule that you administer the sacrament of the Lords supper to women without any warrant from scripture? By the same rule that you keep the first day of the week instead of the sabbath? Nay, have not we as unquestionable a right to receive infants into the church without any scripture for it, as you have to bolt them out without any scriptural liberty? Produce Christ’s command which debars them, and then you will do something. It was an act enjoined upon God’s ancient covenanted people, to bring their infants into covenant; has God, or his blessed Son ever repealed that act? or have you a warrant from either to do it? If you have I should be glad to know it; if not, by what authority do you debar them? there is a day coming, sir, when you will be called to render an account.† Certain it is that infants; by a special command from God himself, were received into the church as long ago as

* If you had said that your own pretences to inspiration, revelation, miraculous ordinations, &c. were nothing but a pillar of Popery; or that there was not the least dissimilarity between such and papistical principles in their final consequences; and that there was not one syllable of proof for such pretences in the word of God, you would have uttered one great truth that could not easily be controverted.

† Not that I blame you for not baptizing infants, when you have no authority to baptize any body.

Abraham's day, Gen. xvii. 9, &c. therefore the presumption lies not in baptizing infants, but in refusing to receive them into covenant contrary to the command of God in Abraham's time, without *one syllable of proof in the whole word of God* to shew they have ever been excluded.

Now, sir, if I mistake not, think myself justly intitled to your grateful promise of acknowledgement, "that I am more of a penetrating genius than you are," (which is a temptation so engaging that none can doubt but that I have exerted myself to the utmost to obtain it) which was upon condition that I would make it appear that you practise any thing so dangerous, or presumptuously do any thing of so great importance upon so little evidence as we baptize our infants. This I think I have fully shewn, and therefore I proceed to the proof of infant baptism.

1. The circumstance of infants being received once into an everlasting covenant with God by his own command, Gen. xvii. without any precept posterior to that period, which excludes them, is an unshaken rock whereon our custom of receiving infants into the christian church may safely rest—for if God has once included infants in his church, who but God hath a right to exclude them? Since therefore it is positive scripture that infants were included in the jewish christian church,* and were subjects of circumcision, which was the covenant made with Abraham and his seed;† It follows that the denying of infant membership now, is only a negative position.

I would further observe, that infants are commanded to be baptized as much as any body else.—Shew me a command for baptizing adults, and I will shew you a command for baptizing infants. Christ gave

* There never was but one church since the fall of man; only at different times the same church has been under different administrations; but faith in Jesus Christ was always required, therefore the church of God always was a christian church.

† Gen. xvii. 10. And the uncircumcised man child, whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised, that soul shall be cut off from his people; he hath broken my covenant. V. 13.

his disciples but one command concerning baptism that I know of; and that was to go and baptize all, Matt. xxviii. 19. Christ's disciples were educated in the jewish religion—they knew infants by God's command were to be taken into covenant; therefore it was entirely needless for Christ to mention them in particular; for that general command of his, viz. *go ye therefore and baptize all nations*, includes them full as well. But if infant membership was to cease with the Jewish religion, or when the christian dispensation took place, then it was absolutely, and infinitely necessary that Christ should in a special manner, particularize infants, and forbid his disciples baptizing them. But altho' it was as needless for Christ to mention infants as adults, in the commission he gave his disciples to go and baptize; yet when some of them like you, began to think themselves wiser than their master, and rebuke those who brought them to Christ, he says *suffer little children* (that is infants, for so they are called in the preceding verse,*) *to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of God*, Luke xviii. 16.

If the kingdom of God means the visible church, then the matter is decided in our favour. But if you will say, it means the invisible church, be so kind as to tell how unbelievers while such became members of it; and do not you call infants unbelievers? When Christ commanded his disciples to *go teach all nations, baptizing them*, &c. It is observed by your party that infants cannot be taught; and as teaching is placed before baptizing in scripture, they conclude from thence that infants ought not to be baptized. But this is not a just conclusion, for if no infants can be lawfully baptized before they are taught, only because teaching is set first in scripture; then by the same rule no infants can be saved before they are bap-

* Luke xviii. 15. They brought unto him also infants that he would touch them, and Christ rebuked those that would have kept them from him, which proves that infants are proper subjects of evangelical ordinances, otherwise there was no harm in keeping them from Christ.

sized, because baptizing is set before salvation in scripture, Mark xvi. 16. Therefore you must either allow that infants may be baptized, notwithstanding teaching and believing, are placed before baptizing in scripture; or else declare that no infant can be saved till they are baptized; nay, by this rule none can be born of the *spirit* till after they have been baptized with *water*; because *water* is set before *spirit* in the word of God, John iii. 5. Christ says the church is like unto a net that was cast into the sea and gathered of every kind; but this cannot be true, unless the church doth gather infants. Infant baptism is highly countenanced in another place of scripture—it is Peters commanding that vast multitude which consisted of several thousand to be baptized every one of them; and it is contrary to the reason of every thing, to suppose more than three thousand souls convened for public worship, and not an infant to be found among them all.

Peter saith to the multitude *repent and be baptized every one of you for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost*—and he gives this reason why their children ought to be baptized; for says he *the promise is to you and your children and all that are afar off*, Acts ii. 38, 39. But a certain author of your persuasion saith, "the promise let it be what it will, is made to as many as the Lord our God shall call and no more." Be it so, what is the conclusion? God the Son we know did call infants, Matt. xviii. 2, when he was on earth, and he is the same yesterday, to day, and forever, Heb. xiii. 8, and if so, then he calls them still—therefore the promise is to our infants. But I say the promise is made to all that are *afar off*; and therefore if we are conceived and born in sin as you often affirm, then the promise of baptism for the remission of sin, is made to all infants as soon as they are born. In another place it is said, *the Lord added to the church daily* such as should be saved, Acts ii. 47, therefore you must allow that infants were added to

the church, or else assert that no such are saved. Beside the apostles being commanded to baptize all, we find they practised accordingly, and baptized whole families or households, Acts xvi. 13, 33. 1 Cor. i. 16. From all which it appears that infant baptism, or infant membership, is as plainly founded on the word of God as the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

I would have argued further from the scriptures in defence of infant baptism; but bible proof is getting so rapidly out of fashion among those of your persuasion, that ten thousand texts of scripture in conjunction with universal tradition, when brought in conjunction with the verbal testimony of any one who pretends to an immediate supernatural communication with heaven as you do, will be considered as lighter than vanity itself. Therefore let us fly to the spirit as the baptists usually do in a strait.

Here then we have a majority of inspired sectaries in favour of infant baptism, viz. the inspired methodists, and the inspired seperates; so that the spirit is altogether in our favour. And if you will not follow the spirit yourself when he favours us, I hope you went complain if we disregard his motions when he favours you. Episcopalians are often reprimanded by your sect for not renouncing their principles in conformity to the spirit; when at the same time the baptists themselves never altered their opinion in obedience to the spirit, in any one instance under heaven, but when the spirit operates agreeable to their particular sentiments they will follow him, and not without: Just so it is with every other denomination under heaven.†

* Some people think it is wrong in us to promise in our children's names when they are baptized. If so, then it appears to me that Joshua made one very wicked promise, viz. *as for me and my house we will serve the Lord.*

† It is my particular sentiment that the holy scriptures are a sufficient guide in religion; and that all such as are obedient to its precepts, and instructions, are led by the spirit of God. When therefore you or any body else, say you be of what sect or denomination you will; whether you are led by a good, bad, or indifferent spirit, or no spirit at all; do or say any thing that is agreeable to the spirit of God, in all such things I can cheerfully join with you. I am not so superstitious but that I can join with devils in saying that Jesus is the Son of God.

In the next place you take it upon you to advise us to "lay aside tradition, and worship God in spirit and in truth," but God forbid that we should lay aside the traditions of the apostles in compliance to your advice. Are we not commanded 2 Thesa. ii. 15, and iii. 6, to follow the traditions of the apostles? not only such as were written, but such traditions also as were delivered to the church by word of mouth. *Stand fast and hold the traditions you have been taught, whether by word or our epistle*; therefore all such traditions as have been universally received in all ages of christianity are (according to scripture) to be retained, whether particular mention is made of them or not in sacred writ, which common sense would have taught without a scriptural precept.

But why have we not as good authority to observe traditions as you have? You can admit women to the holy eucharist without any warrant from scripture. You can neglect the observation of the seventh day of the week contrary to a divine command;* and keep the first day without any scriptural dispensation.

But you cannot admit infants into the church, although there is scripture and universal tradition both to defend that practice. So likewise neither can you be so weak as to believe in the authority of bishops, altho' both scripture and universal tradition, do justify episcopal ordinations and no other; but you can easily be persuaded of the validity of your own ordinations without scripture, or tradition, or reason, or any thing else to support it. So again, when this celebrated spirit which is so prevalent among impostors, operates agreeable to your sentiments, you are conscious it is the spirit of God; but when he preaches up infant baptism and some other principles which you dislike, then this spirit is a beast and a devil.

Your desiring us to "worship God in spirit and

* Exod. xx. &c. Not that I suppose universal tradition is insufficient to justify the observation of the first day; for if we should "lay aside tradition" it would be impossible to know which is the first day of the week.

in truth," is a hard task for us to perform, according to the present motions of what is called the spirit of God; at least it is impossible to follow him in all things. Accordingly there is not a sectary on earth that follows him in a single instance; every one abides by his own principles without paying the least regard to this spirit whatsoever. But however this spirit which we are exhorted to follow, sometimes preaches up eternal unconditional election, and reprobation, and perhaps at the same time in the very next house, we find him dictating another exhortor to term that same doctrine, the doctrine of devils. Sometimes he teacheth that there is no falling from grace.* But the spirit of God formerly told another story, Ezek. xviii. 24, 26, & xxxiii. 13, 18. Heb. vi. 4, 5, 6. 2. Pet. ii. 18, verse to the end. Gal. v. 4. Heb. xii. 15. Sometimes this modern spirit dictates a person to contradict himself several times in one sermon. Not long since I was in Wintonbury, and heard a certain minister preaching by inspiration (as it is called,) say "that all things are best as they now are, and that "no alteration could be made for the better, because "God would certainly make an alteration if every "thing was not best as it is."

But when he presently after came to pray by inspiration, he was exceeding prolix in particularizing to God, what was wrong, and ought to be altered, and in desiring God to make the respective alterations. So that by inspiration we were told in his sermon that all things are best as they are, and in his prayer he told us by inspiration again that almost every thing was wrong. Again I heard a certain exhorter last autumn preaching by inspiration, say that self-righteousness damned a great many, and that it was fatal to all who were possessed of it; and soon after he made out that self-righteousness was a very excellent

* But the Methodists who are led by this spirit declare that every one can, and that many do, fall from grace.

thing, by saying Christ when he told the young man in the gospel to go and sell what he had and give to the poor, had reference to his self-righteousness and not to his goods or estate. But you see this minister both found out and declared by inspiration, that Christ commanded the young man to give that to the poor which must certainly damn them according to what the same spirit said just before. Sometimes this spirit turns Methodist, and preaches up episcopacy, infant baptism, and some other prelatical principles. Sometimes he is—yea very often a mahometan.* Sometimes he is a papist, and assists them as he does you in working miracles, which are invisible to all eyes but your own.† Sometimes he transforms himself into a quaker as Sidrophel did into a goose, and abrogates all external acts of worship and religion. Sometimes he is a shaker, and anathematizes you all. Sometimes he is a universalist, and preaches universal salvation. Sometimes he is (tho very seldom) a baptist, and preaches universal damnation; except a very few.

In short this spirit has been so wavering, that if I should particularize every shift he has made since the reformation, the very press would groan with the publication. Beside all this, truth itself hath likewise met with a "*saving change*." For primitive truth says that Aaron was called of God, or ordained by an outward call or ordination, and that he was consecrated, or anointed high priest, by a single officer, who had proper authority from God, and not by an invisible call, nor the call of the people, as you may see, Exo. xxix. 5, 7, 9, and xxx. 30, and xl. 13, 14, 15, 16. Levit. viii. 12. Num. xviii. 8. Primitive truth also informs us that no man taketh (that is

* Mahomet the founder of mahometanism made use of this same artifice of the spirit to introduce himself as a prophet sent from Heaven. And from that time to this, there has been the same out pourings of the spirit among them, as there has been among those insatuated sectaries that have arisen at, or since the reformation.

† The Papists pretend to this spirit, and thereby attempt to work miracles.

legally) this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron, Heb. v. 4. But now truth tells us that the power of ordination is not in the hands of single persons, but in the church as a body.*

You exclaim against our using a form of prayer, but dont you use a form yourself? Do not you always sing by a form? and have not we as good a right to have a book to pray, or praise God by as you have? many of the psalms are prayers. When you use such psalms you pray by a form as much as we do.

In short, every time you meet together for public worship, every one of your lay adherents (if they have any share in the public worship) must worship God by a form; for if they make use of the parson's prayer, they use a form; if they join in it, they join in a form. The minister's composing a prayer for the use of the laity, altho' he does it extempore, 'tis as much a form to them as if it had been made and printed a thousand years ago; so that your hearers must acknowledge that they worship God by a form, or else confess they never join in public worship.

But this does not justify extemporary prayers. If praying extemporary is best, then 'tis best by all means to sing extemporary. Therefore, if every one of you when you sing, would make a psalm as he goes along, and sing it to his own extemporary tune, then your praying, preaching and singing, would be all alike.

Relative to your saying there is no "spiritual devotion in reading or hearing read a sermon," I grant it, at least I do not call it worshipping God, when a minister addresses his congregation in a sermon, whether he does, or does not use notes. But you said also, there is no spiritual devotion in reading, or hearing read "a form of prayer." I have proved that the jews used a form, and that this was God's com-

* By which I suppose you mean every man, woman and child in the church.

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mand—I have proved that Jesus Christ taught his disciples to use a form, and that he used a form himself.

The very last time he addressed God on the cross, was in the words of the psalmist, *My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?* Psalm xxii. 1. I have proved that the saints and angels in heaven, do use forms; and that there can be no public worship without using them.

And now, sir, be so kind as to search the bible, and see if you can find any command for public extemporary prayers. Was the Holy Ghost, the comforter, ever to reveal any thing new to the disciples? Christ tells them the comforter shall bring all things to your remembrance whatsoever I have said unto you, John xiv. 26. This was necessary to the writers of holy scripture. But what has the Holy Ghost to bring to your remembrance, that you should make so great pretensions to it? Are not the holy scriptures through the grace of God, able to bring all things to our remembrance that is necessary to be thought of, as the Holy Ghost did to those who wrote them? 2 Tim. iii. 15. I have nothing further to add in reply to your letter, and therefore I shall proceed to the consideration of such assertions, questions and objections as have been advanced by those of your persuasion, as they shall occur to my mind.

In proof of your pretended miraculous calls, it has been said,* that "God has just as good a right now to call a man from the ox team to preach—as when he call'd Elisha, Amos, Peter and Saul, &c." Who disputes all this? So God has just as good a right now to send fire from heaven, and destroy you, and all your accomplices for rebelling against the christian priesthood, † as when he destroyed Korah, Dathan and

* By elder H—n in particular.

† But perhaps you think that priests, as well as kings, were sent in wrath, and if it was the greatest sin formerly to rebel against kings or priests sent by God, 1 Samuel xxvi. 9—11. Num. xvi. yet since none can doubt but that rebellion against kings is now a glorious work—so by the same rule it is our duty to reject all sacerdotal dominion, altho' a divine institution originally,

Abiram, and all that appertained unto them, for their rebellion against the Jewish priesthood : *But he is long suffering to us ward; not willing that any should perish but that all should come to repentance*, 2 Pet. iii. 9. God's having a right to do a thing is no proof that he does it; or that he ever will do it. I have no objection to a man's being called *from the ex team* to preach if he is but called in God's appointed way as Aaron was, by a regular ordination.

If he enters by this door, he is doubtless a lawful shepherd. But if he *climbs up some other way* he is a thief and a robber. We must not believe every spirit but try them whether they are of God, 1 John iv. 1. The spirit of God never moves any body to preach or to exercise any ministerial authority previous to an external regular ordination.* If any have an internal call from heaven to preach, he will immediately apply for regular orders to those who have proper authority for that purpose. And all such as neglect, or despise this method prescribed by the Holy Ghost in the holy scriptures, are by no means led by the spirit of God, let their moral character or their pretences to the spirit be what they will.

"The proof of the call to the ministry," (says a famous exhorter of your persuasion,) "is God's owning, and blessing the man's labours for the good of souls." But this is no proof at all.

that to the pure principles of levelism or republicanism, may meet with universal reception; and all tyranny experience eternal abolition both in church and state. To which I answer.—It is as great sin to rebel against kings or priests or any other rulers sent in wrath, as it would be if they were sent in pleasure. And therefore any form of government, either in church or state, that is established by divine authority, is obligatory till the same be revoked by God himself, whether the Deity were in wrath, or not in wrath when he gave the law; and as to the rebellion against kings being a work of God, or of its having divine approbation, concerns not me; as I never had (and God grant I never may have) any disposition to rebel against any form of government, established by divine appointment, either in church or state. Even Jesus Christ did not "execute any part of his priestly office," till he had received an outward ordination of his baptism. From that time Jesus began to preach, Matt iv. 17, and he was then about thirty years of age, Luke iii. 23.

1: Because it is impossible to know whose labours God does own and bless for the good of souls, unless it is revealed from God.

2. If every one should observe this rule, and wait the decision of the ministers success to determine whether he is a lawful minister or not; then Christ's ministers might labour to all eternity without a single convert.

3. If they should even have a large harvest of profelytes, and if this be all is meant by *Gods owning, and blessing the mans labours for the good of souls*, then it will follow that every one (even the devil himself) are right inasmuch as all have followers more or less.

It has been said that "sincerity is all God requires, if a man is but sincere no matter what sect he is of." Which ought to be refuted, for as long as people believe in this doctrine all arguments will prove ineffectual. Was not then Korah, Dathan and Abiram; and that large congregation of Gods elect people, that appertained unto them among whom were *two hundred and fifty princes of the assembly, famous in the congregation, men of renown*, was not, I say they sincere in rising up against the prelacy of Aaron, the Jewish high-priest, when they all appealed to Heaven in the most lawful manner, to have the controversy decided by the dreadful sentence of their Almighty Judge? were they all hypocrites? they certainly exhibited as much visible sign of their sincerity, as any of the baptists ever did, or can. *But the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up—and they went down alive into the pit all that appertained unto Korah—and there came out a fire from the Lord, and consumed the two hundred and fifty men that offered incense.* Num. xvi. From this it seems that sincerity is not quite all God requires. But if sincerity is all God requires, why does he require more? what need is there of any other precept? But has God ever told us that sincerity is all he re-

* Just so it is now, those who rise up against the bishop, the christian high priest are frequently appealing to Heaven for the justice of their cause.

quires? If not, is it impossible to believe that Jesus Christ the only begotten son of God, did take his departure from the bosom of his blessed Father, and condescended to take our nature upon him, and to suffer, and do all that is recorded of him, and all this to redeem us, to reveal to us what is required of us as necessary to salvation—that he should cause so large a book as the holy scriptures are, to be written for our learning—and left us as our only directory to eternal peace and glory; and after all should omit the only necessary revelation of his will; viz. that *sincerity is all he requires.*

"But what propriety is there in the punishment of those who are sincere in their opinion?"

To which I answer. All such as have a wrong opinion and have not had sufficient means, or a reasonable opportunity of informing themselves better, are in my opinion not blame worthy in that particular. But a man may believe wrong, and his opinion may result from former wilful disobedience; and in all such cases a man may be blameable for sincerely believing as he does.

I will instance in a few particulars.

A deist may sincerely believe the bible is a cheat. When at the same time he knows by natural reason that it is his duty to examine the evidence by which it is defended—and by his disobedience to this particular precept of conscience he may live, and die a sincere believer that the bible is a cheat, and be justly blame worthy for his so believing.

Again a man may sincerely believe that he has had a supernatural call from heaven by Gods spirit to preach, &c. only because Satan, or some other evil spirit hath taught him so by internal suggestion, and at the same time he may know that it is his duty *not to believe every spirit, but to try them, whether they are of God*, and his disobedience to this divine precept may be the only reason why he mistook an evil spirit for the spirit of God.

Now the baptists, some of them doubtless believe they are right, and that we are wrong; and yet they commit a great sin in believing so, let them be ever so sincere. Why? because they have not *proved all things*, and then to *hold fast that which is good*.

Because they judge our cause and condemn us, as the jews did Jesus Christ without a hearing.* Because they believe every word their teachers say, as Eve did the devil, or as the Mahometans did their prophet without examining whether they are right or wrong. Because they have opportunity of informing themselves better, and yet will not, because their teachers know (at least the devil knows) that if the people should enquire into the truth, they might embrace the true church, and therefore the people are taught that ignorance is necessary to salvation; and many of them think they would be damned, if they should not persevere in their ignorance. This is the reason why I wish people to examine for themselves, "truth fears no enquiry." And I wish churchmen as well as others would make this enquiry; for if our church is wrong our ignorance will not excuse us. For if the baptists, or any other anti-episcopal sectary is right, or we are wrong, it is an easy matter to find it out, and we must do it, or else be accountable to God for our needless ignorance; and the only way to find out the truth is not to believe every word our priests tell us without examining whether they tell us right or not, as the dissenters too often do their teachers, as the mahometans did their prophet, as the ~~papists~~ *papists* do the pope, or our first parents did the devil. But we must carefully examine into the foundation of our own church, and of every other, separately and distinctly, faithfully weighing the evidence and argument on both sides of every dispute, carefully examining every thing that is or can be said for or against us, not judging according to the outward appearance, but righteous judgment, that we may *add to our*

* John ix. 24.

his foul but) round about him giving conviction to his outward senses, which other people saw as well as he. But yours is an internal, invisible and unintelligible light; or as Butler describes it.

"Tis a dark lantern of the spirit
"Which none see by but those who bear it."
And St. Paul not only saw an external light, but he heard an audible voice, (and so did they which journeyed with him) *speaking unto him in the Hebrew tongue*. But I never could learn that you ever so much as pretended to see, or hear any thing with your outward eyes, or ears—that your *miraculous calls*, have any materiality, or external evidence connected with them, so as people could be judges for themselves. He therefore that can find no difference between St. Pauls call and yours I should think must be "*exceedingly puzzled*" to distinguish the bible from the alkoran.

The next question is whether your scheme of conversion is agreeable to the conversion of St. Paul. St. Pauls conversion consisted entirely in his obedience to the vision he saw, as soon as he came to a resolution to obey the vision he was converted, all that he ever saw, or heard externally, or internally was no part of his conversion, having light is one thing, and being converted is another. The vision which St. Paul saw, was miraculous, but there was nothing miraculous, or supernatural in his conversion no irrisistible grace, necessity, or compulsion attending his conversion. Christ left him wholly at his own option whether to obey, or disobey the heavenly vision.

But your description of conversion is "a saving change, a saving knowledge of God, a saving faith in Jesus Christ. The being born again, regenerated, or baptized with the Holy Ghost."* None of these

* I know of but one baptism necessary to salvation, Ephe. iv. 5, and you may call it by what name you please. It cannot be proved from scripture that the baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire was necessary to salvation. Christ (after his resurrection) says to his apostles *ye shall be baptized with the*

faith knowledge, and be churchmen by conviction and not by tradition only.

The baptists tell us, their ordinations, calls and conversions, are similar to St. Pauls. But there is not a single word said about ordination in the history of the vision of St. Paul, to which they refer us, for proof of their assertion. It is true St. Paul saw an external light, which shone round about him above the brightness of the sun, and heard an audible voice saying unto him in the Hebrew tongue, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* But Saul knew not the signification of the light, nor what the voice meant that spoke to him, (which proves he had no inward light) and therefore he enquires, *who art thou, Lord?* and the Lord said unto him, *I am Jesus whom thou persecutest*, at which declaration Saul was greatly astonished; and trembling, said Lord *what wilt thou have me to do?* (which shews that he was still ignorant) whereupon Christ neither ordained him, nor baptized him, nor converted him, nor made a christian of him, nor even gave him any instructions, but only to *go into the city of Damascus*, to be taught by Ananias, a standing minister of the gospel; and there (says Christ) *it shall be told thee of all things that are appointed for thee to do*; and here St. Paul had his choice, either to be converted or let it alone, either to obey or disobey the heavenly vision, and by Christ's referring St. Paul to Ananias for instruction, it appears that Christ had previously given to the church all power and instruction that was requisite for her to the end of the world; and that no new ordination, commission, revelation or instruction immediately from him, was necessary.*

And now, Sir, I am ready to specify in what particulars consists the dissimilarity between St. Paul, and your calls to the ministry. St. Pauls call or vision was not an internal or invisible light; but an outward external material light, which shone (not into

* Although the canon of scripture was not yet completed, the apostles had all power necessary to the completion of it.

titles can (in your sense of them) with the least colour of propriety be applied to St. Paul's conversion, or any body elses conversion. None will meet with such a *saving change* as you describe conversion by, till time be exchanged for eternity.

And to have a *saving knowledge of God* as you define it is to exclude hope, and faith, and to walk by sight instead thereof, contrary to the method of the apostles, 2. Cor. v. 7. *for we are saved by hope, but hope that is seen is not hope; for what a man seeth why doth he yet hope for?* Rom. viii. 24. *and faith is—the evidence of things not seen*, Heb. xi. 1. *and saving faith, and saving knowledge* are I conclude in your opinion both one, otherwise you would not apply them both to conversion altho' there is an infinite difference between faith and knowledge, thus we are told: that, "a historical faith is not true scriptural faith; but

Holy Ghost not many days hence. Acts i. 5. Therefore the apostles were not baptized with the Holy Ghost and of fire till the day of Pentecost. But they had been born again or regenerated and converted before, (Math. xii. 38.) and were as much christians before the day of pentecost as they were after, for they had before the day of Pentecost received the Holy Ghost in his ministerial authority, and were already sent by Christ as he was by his Father, and were obtained with a full commission to preach the gospel to every creature, to teach and baptize all nations, and to do all things whatsoever Christ had commanded them; and had the power of working miracles, (Matt. x. and 28, xix. 20. John xi. 31, 32, 33.) and yet they were commanded to tarry in the city of Jerusalem, till they were endued with an additional power from on high, that of speaking with tongues, without which power they could not be understood by all nations, and every creature to whom they were commanded to preach the gospel—teach and baptize, *for ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.* And when the day of pentecost was fully come—suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a rushing mighty wind, and filled all the house where they were sitting, and there appeared unto them cloven tongues, like as of fire, and it sat on each of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the spirit gave them utterance. This, fir, was the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and of fire, of which we stand in no manner of need; the people of Samaria were converted, and had received the word of God, and were all baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus before they thro' the laying on of the apostles hands received the Holy Ghost, Acts viii. so there was certain disciples at Ephesus who were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus before they thro' the laying on of Pauls hands received the Holy Ghost, Acts xix. now if this miraculous gift is necessary, and if you are ordained immediately by Christ as the apostles were, why do not you, and your brethren baptize with the Holy Ghost and of fire in the same miraculous manner.

E.

"before we can have an efficacious belief in Christ, we must see him," accordingly, we frequently hear how such a one "has met with Jesus," such another has "seen Christ," which seems to imply that you are an unbelieving, sceptical race of mortals, or else that no one can be a good christian, till he has seen Christ with his own eyes, and thrust his hand into his side as Thomas did. But Christ says, *blessed are they which have not seen, and yet have believed.* Saving faith or knowledge or any other faith, or knowledge, are terms by no means applicable to conversion, for the devils themselves have a knowledge of God, Mark. iii. 11, and believe and tremble, James ii. 9, but are not converted. And regeneration is one thing, and conversion is another. A man cannot be regenerated but once, but converted he may be a thousand times, conversion being only the renouncing of sin and error, and the embracing of truth and holiness, which may be done as often as we elapse into sin, and every time we sin, we stand in need of a new conversion. But regeneration, baptism or being born again, is all one, and the same thing, (have patience, hear me out before you give sentence, for if this letter contains any thing worthy of death it refuses not to die.) Christ's church is a *kingdom of Heaven, not of this world* into which there is no possible entrance by nature. God has instituted baptism as a means whereby we are initiated into Christ's church out of this world; which cannot be done without a new birth, for as we cannot enter into the world without being *begotten*, generated and born once: so neither can we enter into the church which is not of this world, without being *begotten anew in Christ Jesus*, regenerated and born again, certain as baptism admits into the church, so certain it is that every one that is baptized are *born again, not of the flesh, but of water and the spirit.* Except a man be born of water and of the spirit he cannot enter into the (church which is a) *kingdom (not of this world but) of Heaven.*

And common sense alone will teach us that baptism being instituted by an Holy God, for such an ho-

ly use, must be an holy efficacious spiritual ordinance; and accordingly salvation is said to be by baptism, 1 Pet. iii. 21. It is called the washing away of sin, Acts xxii. 16. It is said to be for the remission of sins, Acts ii. 38. It is called the washing of regeneration by which men are saved, Tit. iii. 5. And more especially our Saviour himself, tells Nicodemus *except a man be born of water and the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.**

Therefore baptism is one (altho' not the only) thing necessary to salvation. But altho' baptism is said to be for the remission of sin, and the washing away of sin, and that it doth also now save us—yet water baptism, or any other baptism alone, will not avail to save any one who are in a capacity to do their duty further. We must not only be baptized or regenerated, but we must *lead the rest of our lives according to this beginning*, having our souls converted, or the *renewing of the Holy Ghost*, Tit. iii. 5. So neither will faith alone save us, which without works is dead, James ii. 26; and faith and baptism are both necessary to salvation; and yet there may be millions which are saved, destitute of both, in countries where the gospel is not known, by obeying the law of God written in their hearts. When at the same time we who live in gospel sunshine cannot be saved, altho' we believe and are baptized, unless we obey the law of Christ in other things, having our *hearts right in the sight of God.†* So likewise the death of Jesus Christ is infinitely necessary to salvation, and every one that is saved in any nation, whether they are christians or not, must be saved by his merits; and yet his merits alone will not avail to save any who do not comply with the conditions on their part by him required, according to their several abilities.

Although we believe in Christ, and are regenerated baptized or born again, and have been internally

* Whether Christ means the militant or triumphant church is no matter, since all the promises of the Gospel are made only to the church.

† Acts viii. 13, 21, 22, 23.

converted, and do obey the law of Christ in every particular, even all this, together with the merits of Jesus Christ, will not in my opinion, secure to us our salvation; nor make our calling and election sure: unless we persevere, and die the death of the righteous, all our righteousness will not be remembered, Ezek. iii. 20—18, 24, and xxxiii. 12. But in order to be saved, we must persevere in our duty thro' all the changing scenes of life, and in due season we shall reap if we faint not, Gal. vi. 9, for we are made partakers of Christ if we hold the beginning of our confidence steadfast to the end, Heb. iii. 14. And he that endures to the end the same shall be saved, Mark xiii. 13, therefore after we have done our last duty in this state of life, we may (and not before) look for the reward of our labour thro' Christ, as Naaman was healed after he had dipped the seventh time in Jordan, 2 Kings v. 14.* Let us all therefore be careful to observe even all the externals of religion, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness, and above all we must have inward piety and a good disposition of heart, not denying the efficacy of evangelical ordinances, nor trusting in them, but in Christ alone for salvation.†

I have made a proper distinction in the preceding pages between regeneration, faith and conversion, and you may call them by what name, or as many names as you please.

But if you have had such a call, or have seen such a vision as St. Paul did (which is your task to prove) why do you not do as he did? and apply for a commission if you want one, to those who have proper authority to give? and unite yourself to the church which Christ built, as St. Paul did, and not to set up a standard of your own? If St. Paul, as soon as he

* These, Sir, are my principles, and if you have any to offer more agreeable to christianity, I am ready to hear them.

† I have said thus much to inform the reader, that churchmen do not hold that true religion consists in outward ceremony, only as too many professors to superior sanctity, have maliciously or very ignorantly reported, but in sincere obedience to all the laws of Jesus Christ.

had seen the vision, had begun to preach and exercise ministerial power without any further orders: And instead of going to Damascus for instruction, and joining the church according to direction, he had set up a standard of his own in opposition to it, leading away a party after him, in such a case he, and all his followers would have been schismatics, and rebels; and there would then have been an exact similitude between his conduct, and those who now pretend to such a vision as St. Paul's, without obeying of it.

Finally you either were ordained immediately by Christ, or not. If you were, I desire you to tell how, when and where, it was; and who was present at your consecration,* and what words or signs Christ made use of when he ordained you; that we may know how far your authority extended; whether you are as high as a Pope or as low as a deacon. God hath set some in his church first apostles; secondarily prophets; thirdly teachers, 1 Cor. xii. 28, which of these three orders are you? examine your commission and see. If your commission ranks you with the highest of these three orders, then the other two inferior orders within the circumference of your diocese, ought to acknowledge your jurisdiction.

Human nature is not in a capacity of receiving a commission to ordain, administer sacraments, &c. any other way but thro' the medium of our senses. Accordingly we have no account in scripture of any ecclesiastical commission or orders, that ever was given from God to man, since the world began, either mediately, or immediately, but what was outward and external, such as peoples outward senses could be judges of.

But perhaps you think I ought to point out St. Paul's ordination in particular, and shew what dissimilarity there is between his ordinations, and the baptisms. But I think this is a little hard, since we have

* St. Paul gave the particulars of his vision, telling what he saw and the words he heard, I wish you to do the same.

no account of his ordination in scripture. I have given examples of several external ordinations, and therefore it belongs to you to shew that St. Paul's ordination was not external as all other ordinations were, and to give some example or proof of an internal ordination; or at least to shew the possibility of such an ordination. But I will endeavour notwithstanding, to shew that St. Paul's ordination was different from yours. Some believe St. Paul was ordained by Christ himself, some think by Annanias, some by the apostles, others there are who suppose them prophets and teachers, mentioned in the xiii of Acts, ordained him. Let which of these opinions you please be true, they all operate with equal strength against your ordination, tho' none of them would invalidate episcopal ordinations. For if the vision he saw was his ordination, he was ordained externally, agreeably to our, but contrary to your notion of ordination. The same may be said if he was ordained by Annanias, or the apostles. And if them prophets and teachers did ordain him, and if it could (which can not) be proved that they were all of the second order of the clergy; this would not prove that the apostles or bishops their successors could not ordain; but it would prove that St. Paul's ordination was an outward one, which is contrary to your scheme of ordination.

Whether St. Paul was, or was not ordained immediately by Christ, I cannot tell, nor does it concern the cause of episcopacy, who ordained him. But it is most probable that he was not ordained immediately by Christ, for the following reasons.

1. Because it appears from Christ's referring him to Annanias for instruction; and from the angel of the Lord's directing Cornelius to send for Peter to be instructed by him—that Christ had already committed the ecclesiastical government of the church into the hands of the apostles, and that there was no necessity of his appearing any more as an ordainer or teacher, nor any of his angels.

2. Because St. Paul did not receive much inward light (if any) and certain that he did not receive the Holy Ghost, nor was born anew out of this world into Christ's church, by the initiating ordinance of baptism, till after he met with Annanias.

3. He went to Annanias, and of him received his sight, the Holy Ghost, and baptism; and tarried certain days with the disciples before he began to preach. And therefore his ordination was after he met with Annanias; and he had opportunity enough to receive his orders from some legal ordainer in the church, before he preached; which is more probable than that Christ appeared to him the second time without any necessity, on purpose to ordain him. But if Christ ordained St. Paul, he undoubtedly ordained him as he did the rest of the apostles; and appeared to him in the same visible form, the same material body that rose from the dead, which consisted of flesh and bones, Luke xxiv. 39. But you think because there is nothing said about Paul's ordination previous to his preaching, that his ordination was internal.

But St. Paul says *no man taketh this honour (of the priesthood) unto himself, but he that was called of God as was Aaron*. Aarons call or consecration, was an outward one, and so was St. Pauls, or else he was not called of God as was Aaron. But if Aarons call was internal altogether, then Jesus Christ and his apostles were not called of God as was Aaron; for they were called outwardly, Matt. iii. 16, 17, and xxviii. 19. But Aaron's call or consecration was an outward one. For the Lord said unto Moses, *take unto thee Aaron and his sons, that they may minister unto me in the priests office*, Exod. xxviii. 1. And thou shalt take the garments and put upon Aaron, the coat and the robe—then shalt thou take the anointing oil and pour it upon his head, and anoint him. And thou shalt gird them with girdles (Aaron and his sons) and put the bonnets on them; and the priests office shall be theirs for a perpetual statute;

and thou shalt consecrate Aaron and his sons, Exod. xxix: 5, 7, 9. And thou shalt anoint Aaron and his sons, and consecrate them that they may minister unto me in the priests office, c. xxx. v. 30. And thou shalt put upon Aaron the holy garments, and anoint him and sanctify him—and thou shalt bring his sons and anoint them, as thou didst anoint their father, that they may minister unto me in the priests office: for their anointing shall surely be an everlasting priesthood throughout their generations. Thus did Moses according to all the Lord commanded him, so did he. c. xl. v's 13, 14, 15, 16. He poured of the anointing oil on Aaron's head, Levit. viii. 12. And the priests office was Aarons by reason of the anointing, Num. xviii. 8. Therefore, whether St. Paul was ordained immediately by Christ, or by the apostles, or by anybody else; his ordination was an outward one, as all other scriptural ordinations were; and therefore your ordinations are cut off on every side. Unless you will say as some of your persuasion do,* that you have a "lineal succession from the apostles, as much as episcopalian, deriving your authority in the line of bishops down to the reformation, and from thence to the present day, in the line of presbyters or elders." In answer to which it will be necessary to shew that there is no validity in ordinations performed by the presbyters of our church, and that will decide the matter.

We will first consider the evidence the holy scriptures are said to afford ordinations by presbyters.

1. It is said, "them prophets and teachers mentioned in the xiiith of Acts, were presbyters, and that they ordained St. Paul and Barnabas."

But it should be remembered that Paul and Barnabas were ministers, as high at least as the second order, before them prophets and teachers laid their hands on them and sent them away. Therefore if Paul and Barnabas received any sacerdotal authority of those prophets and teachers, it was the apostolic com-

mission. But how could presbyters ordain apostles? how could them prophets and teachers give a commission which they had not got themselves? Presbyters could no more ordain apostles (supposing they had power to ordain elders) than laymen could. To suppose a man can give that which he has not got to give, is contradictory and impossible. Therefore, those that laid hands on St. Paul and Barnabas, were of an higher order in the church than presbyters, or else they did not communicate any authority by their prayer and imposition of hands. But let them prophets and teachers be what they will, they had a special command from the Holy Ghost to separate Barnabas and Saul, which command alone might sufficiently empower them to ordain Barnabas and Saul; without giving them the least authority to ordain any body else, or to do any other ministerial act. If the Holy Ghost should now command me to ordain any particular man, I should have a good right to ordain that man; but no authority to ordain any body else, or to do any other ministerial act. The same may be said in my opinion of a command to a layman, to do any act of a ministerial complexion, by any bishops now, who are successors to the apostles. Those who were commanded by the apostle Peter to baptize the gentile converts at Cesarea,* had by virtue of that command adequate power to baptize them, but no authority to baptize any body else, or to do any other act of a ministerial nature; even admitting they were all meer laymen, as Mr. Hooker, in his ecclesiastical polity supposes they were. But no man has a right or power to give what he has not, nor has any one a right to exercise ministerial authority, or to do any ministerial act whatsoever, without a valid commission for that purpose.

2. It is said that Timothy was ordained by presbyters; and for proof we are referred to 1 Tim. iv,

* Elder H—s in particular.

14. *Neglect not the gift that is in thee which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.* The gift spoken of in the text, is said to be *given by prophecy*; not by, but *with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery*. St. Paul says in another place, *the gift that is in thee by the putting on of my hands*, 2 Tim. i. 6. So that one text says; the gift was *given by prophecy*, (i. e.) by prayer, or by the words that St. Paul used when he ordained him; the other text says, *by the putting on of my hands*. So that both texts put together, shew that Timothy was ordained by St. Paul, by prayer and imposition of hands, *with the laying on of the hands of presbytery*, which was done to signify approbation, not the conveyance of authority. But what if the presbytery did ordain Timothy? the presbytery might consist all of apostles, or at least one apostle. Therefore, it must be proved, that no one was included in that presbytery, that held the apostolic commission; and then it must be proved again, that Timothy was ordained by the presbytery, and then it shall be granted that presbyters in the apostolic age did ordain, and what if they did? For if presbyters did ordain in the apostolic age, it must be because they had a valid commission for that purpose. But will it follow because presbyters could ordain in that age by virtue of a valid commission, that they or any body else have a right to ordain now without a valid commission? For you must consider that the legality of the succession in contest, depends wholly upon the validity of ordinations performed by those schismatical presbyters, that separated from our church at the reformation; * who had no more authority to ordain than the deacons or the laity had. It is nothing to the case, whether the presbyters did, or did not ordain in the earliest ages, since we know that the bishops did not communicate the power of ordination to the afore said presbyters; consequently

* At which time commenced the most primitive dawning of a succession in the line of presbyters.

all ordinations that depend on the validity of ordinations performed by presbyters now, are null and void, altho' an hundred texts of scripture, could be produced to prove that presbyters in the apostolic age, did ordain. Since therefore those presbyters that commenced your pretended succession, had no power to ordain, all you have to prove is only this, (viz.) that presbyters have a legal right to ordain others, who never have received the power of ordination themselves; and when you have proved this, the dispute will be dissolved, and not before. But some say the "bishops can not communicate a part of their authority without the whole." If this be true, then presbyters are of no order at all in the church, for if bishops cannot communicate the office of a presbyter, without the communication of the office of a bishop; or in other words, if a bishop cannot transmit an authority to preach, administer sacraments, &c. previous to the transmission of the power of ordination, or without the conveyance of that power, then it is certain that all those to whom the bishops have not communicated the latter, were never invested with the former commission.

And this being the case with all presbyters, it follows that they (according I mean to this false assertion) instead of having the power of ordination, have not the least ecclesiastical power at all whatsoever.

But those who wish to see things proved as well as asserted, will remember that the apostles were ordained by Christ first, with a power only to work certain miracles, preach, administer sacraments, &c. but did not receive the power of ordination, church government, and the like, till after Christ rose from the dead. Matt. x. Luke x. ii. John iv. 2. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. John xx. 20, &c.

Another assertion is, "*that the apostolic commission ceased at the death of the apostles.*" If by the *apostolic commission* is meant the power of working miracles, I

grant that has ceased. But what I mean by the apostolic commission, is a power to ordain and govern the church. And this commission has been invariably handed down from the apostles to this day, in the line of bishops; nor do I see any probability but that it will continue as Christ has promised, *to the end of the world*, Matt. xxviii. 20. And altho' I firmly believe, there never was since Aaron's time; nor never will be to the end of the world, less than three distinct orders of officers in the church; yet I do not suppose my felt that the three orders are unalterable, or any longer necessary than the universal church wills it; nor that more than three orders are unlawful.

But a succession of lawful ordainers from the apostles is necessary, indispensably so; and where there is such a succession preserved, there may be a legal exercise of ministerial authority, and not without: and those successors of the apostles can constitute officers in the church as high as themselves; and as many lower, or inferior orders under their jurisdiction, as they please, or judge requisite. The church hath a legal right to exercise as much power as Christ hath given her, and no more. And you may call this commission by what name you please, either extraordinary, supernatural, ordinary, or any thing else. And those who hold this commission, you may call them apostles, bishops, presidents, presbyters, priests, pastors, elders, deacons, any thing else, or nothing, I care not: for altering the name does not alter the thing. But giving or assuming a name or title, conveys no commission, if it did, Mr. Sherman, and his brethren would be bishops.* There is one more argument which is always ready to assist any one, when they have nothing else to say; and that is the doctrine of fate, which I shall not trouble myself or the reader much about. For I think it is evident enough, that the episcopal church is the primitive

* See his unanswerable reply to the weaver letter.

church of Christ, since the ecclesiastical governors of it have not only all of the proof of their divine authority that any of our adversaries can boast, but have also a lineal succession from the apostles, which no other church have, and which no impostor can have, and which none that have can be impostors. And therefore if God (as the Saybrook platform tells us) has from all eternity elected a certain number to life without any foresight of any thing he saw in them, or any of them better than others.* If I say this is true, I see no impropriety in saying that the whole of the visible church are that number. For God is as likely to elect the whole of the visible church to life, without any fore (or after) sight of any good in them, as he is to elect any other number upon the same condition; viz. "*for the praise of his own glorious grace*, and much more so, for the visible church are the elect according to scripture. And therefore if none but the elect, that is the visible society of christians can be saved, and none of the elect can be damned,† then it will follow that every churchman will be saved, and all others reprobated. And I shall not object to that if it is Gods' will, altho' at present I believe the doctrine to be a damnable heresy, and that none of the elect can be saved, unless they *make their calling and election sure*, by persevering in holiness according to their several abilities, and dying the death of the righteous. And those whom God did foreknow would thus obey him, them he did predestinate to life, &c. Rom. viii, 29. But did not God harden the heart of Pharaoh, and raise him up to shew his power. Rom. ix. 17, so I grant the scriptures tell us. And I expect your heart will be hardened in the same manner when you read this letter. But I deny that Pharaoh, or any body else, were ever punished or blamed, or ever will be,

* A noble doctrine to be taught the children of men, and Mr. Edwards was very sensible of it, when he wrote the freedom of the will.

† Which is the sentiments of all decretalists.

for the hardness of their hearts, unless they hardened their own hearts. And if God did harden the heart of Pharaoh, this will not prove that he hardens any other mans heart, nor is it any evidence that Pharaoh or any body else ever was or ever will be punished or blamed, because God hardens their hearts. And therefore no argument can be deduced from the example of Pharaoh, in defence of unconditional predestination. And those fatalists who hold to a saving change, which excludes the possibility of finally falling away, do very much resemble the conduct of the ecclesiastical characters of the papal church, in granting dispensations to sin, that people may transgress with a clear conscience. If a man feels a strong propensity to commit any particular sin, he can have his conscience pacified (so it is said) by obtaining a permission of his Holiness: and this is the greatest power that ever I heard of the Popes using. But here in modern Rome, all a man has to do, is to tell his priest a fair story that he has seen, heard and felt, such and such things; and then the priest declares he has *met with a saving change*, and can not miss of salvation; altho' he should commit murder and adultery, as David did, or fall into idolatry, and other sins, as Aaron, Solomon, and other good men have done. And if this is, not granting a dispensation to sin as much as we please all the days of our lives, to all intents and purposes as much, nay more, than ever the Pope, or any of his ambassadors ever did, or are said to do—common sense is no judge. Perhaps it may be thought that I am out of my business, in taking any further notice of your letter, since you deny you ever wrote any. But if the letter contains your principles, it ought to be answered. And I dont recollect that you ever denied it in a public manner. And if you had, the general obligation mankind are under to war against every specie of sin and error, is enough to convince me that I am doing my duty in writing to you, supposing you had never said, or wrote a single word to me.

THE LIBRARY OF THE REV. DR. THOMAS BRADBURY CHANDLER

Thomas Bradbury Chandler has many associations with Connecticut and its early clergy. He was born in Woodstock, Massachusetts, now a part of Connecticut, on April 26, 1726. He attended Yale where he came under the influence of Dr. Samuel Johnson of Stratford, with whom, after graduation, he studied theology. Although his ecclesiastical career is associated with Elizabethtown, N.J., encouraged by Dr. Johnson he joined the Anglican apologists of the New England colonies in defence of the Church of England and the episcopate. In London during the Revolution, he had close ties with the New England Loyalists, one of whom was Samuel Peters of Hebron. Like Dr. Johnson, Peters, Jeremiah Leaming, Samuel Seabury, Henry Caner and John Bowden, Chandler was a learned man--his library being of considerable interest to modern Churchmen exploring Anglican thought and literacy in the Colonies before their break with the mother country. Long since dispersed, his books must now be traced by modern library methods and research aids. Even so, they offer the scholar a valuable bibliography. The following touched-up copy of a copy of the unique original in the Elizabeth Public Library will serve a useful purpose in several of our current studies. Chandler died on June 17, 1790.

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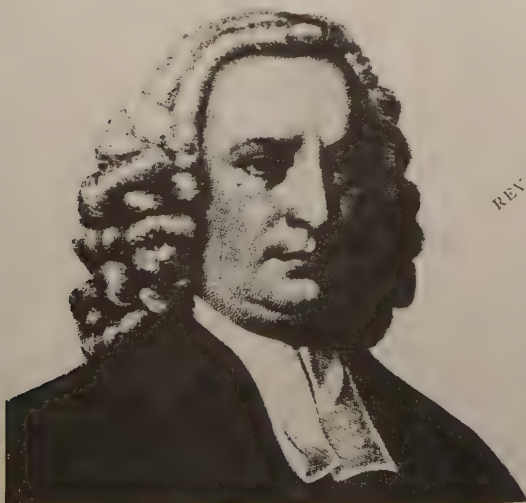
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Ditto, Bishop Green's, &c. 4to. 236.	0	2	0
Ditto, on Baptism. 2583.	0	4	0
Miscellanies, Sherlocke on Allegiance, &c. 4to. 651.	0	10	0
Scarce Sermons. 4to. 2293.	0	4	0
Tracts of Dissenters. 3540.	0	6	0
Tracts and Sermons, Reformation, a Satire, &c. 4to. 2366.	0	4	0
Ditto Grovii Responso ad Celufina, &c. 4to. 2371.	0	4	0
Middleton on Church Power, &c. 2157	0	3	6
Sykes' Answer to Marthal, &c. 38.	0	2	6
Christianity and Free Thinking. 1077	0	2	6
Collection of several Papers, &c. 2079.	0	2	6
Sermon. and Tracts. 2774.	0	1	6
Sermons, &c. 408.	0	1	6

(41)

Sermons, 18 (by Towers, 3613.	4 6
Stibbing's True State, &c. 1307.	4 0
Sermons collected, Lynford's before the King, &c. 1829.	4 6
Ditto 18, on January 30, 1761.	4 6
Tracts on Types and Sacraments, 3120.	2 0
Sermons, &c. by Ramsay, &c. 1798.	2 0
Tracts on Gibbon's Codex, 3127.	2 0
Cockman, Bedford, Twelles, &c. 1896.	2 0
Christianity not founded on argument, 1306.	2 0
Tracts by T. Burnet, 1051.	2 0
Do. on the Unity & perfection of God, &c. 3543.	4 0
Do. Relating to the B. of Sarum's 39 articles, 400. 1591.	4 0
Do. Elits on God's Preſcience, &c. 3128.	2 6
Do. Morton on the Trinity, &c. 3121.	2 6
Do. Including four Conferences, &c. 400. 1773.	2 0
Do. Sharroch's Judicia, &c. 3613.	2 6
Sermons & Pamphlets, by Pearce, &c. 3 vol. 1266.	2 0
Do. by Humphree's, &c. 1275.	2 6
Pamphlets, Aggill's defence, &c. 1326.	4 0
Do. Wellſhead's Scheme of Providence, &c. 2050.	4 6
Do. Letter to the Biſhop of London, &c. 1257.	2 6
Du Moulin and B. Andrews, on Episcopacy, &c. 1720.	2 0
Oxford Pamphlets, a Letter to the Head, &c. 1937.	2 6
Sermons & Tracts, B. Sanderſon's, &c. 1974.	4 0
Bullock on the Reaſoning of Chriſt, &c. 1216.	4 0
Pamphlets, New high Church, turned Old Presbyterian, &c. 1683.	3 0
Difſenting Gentleman's answer, &c. 1215.	3 0
Bentley's Sermon againſt Popery, &c. 1624.	2 0
Deiſm fairly ſtated, &c. 1261.	2 6
Mortality from the Devil, &c. 1215.	2 6
Papiſts Reſpreſented & miſrepreſented, 400. 2381.	6 0
Sherlock's Socinian Controverſy, 400. 1642.	6 0
Select Tracts, Johnſon's Laodicean age, &c. 1509.	4 0
Sermons, Dr. Friend's, &c. 400. 3712.	6 0
Do Hale's, &c. 400. 1212.	2 0
Gill, Guyſe, Whitfield, Marryat, & Seward, 2544.	3 0
Wayerland on Fundamentals, &c. 837.	4 0
Curious Miscellaneous Pamphlets, 129.	7 0
Abornethy's Tracts, 2338.	4 0
Stibbing's defence of Clarke, &c. 2092.	5 0

(42)

Three Pamphlets, 1314.	2 0
Regulations of Free Thinking, &c. 1249.	2 6
The Conſpirators, &c. 734.	4 6
Answer to Hick's, &c. 116.	2 6
Occaſional Sermons (by Warton, &c.) 1180.	4 0
Miſcellaneous Tracts, on the Complutensian Edition, &c. 1998.	6 0
Ditto, ditto, Burton's Sermons, &c. 838.	3 6
Hick's Apoſtological Vindication, &c. 552.	2 0
Theological Pamphlets, Eſſay on Duty, &c. 1259.	2 0
Miſcellaneous Tracts, on Gibſon's Codex, &c. 2324.	3 0
Ditto ditto, Conſtitutions and Canons Eccleſiaſtical, 1388.	2 6
Ditto ditto, Comber's Examiner Examined, &c. 1387.	4 0
Ditto ditto, Right of the Archbiſhop to pro- rogue Convocations, &c. 1421.	7 0
Miſcellaneous Tracts, 9 vols. 5000.	16 0
Dr. Trapp tried, &c. 1023.	1 6
Five American Tracts, by T. B. C. 119.	3 0
Scarce Tracts, a Letter to a Friend, &c. 400. 3685.	4 0
Miſcellaneous Tracts, on Sacheveril, &c. 1759.	3 0
Ditto ditto, Calamy's Letter to Echard, &c. 3234.	3 0
Ditto ditto, Short way with Prolaſneſs, &c. 1919.	3 0
Tracts and Sermons, by Taſwell, &c. 869.	6 0



REV. SAMUEL JOHNSON, D.D.
Ordained 1722.

TRINITY CHURCH, NEW HAVEN.
First Building, 1752.



Bishop Seabury and the "Episcopal Recorder;"

A VINDICATION.

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY, M. A.

PRIVATELY PRINTED.

1863.

Bishop Seabury and the "Episcopal Recorder:"

A VINDICATION.

THE publication of a critique on the relations of the first Bishop of Connecticut to his Episcopal brother of New York, in the *Church Review*, and the appearance of a series of Articles in one of the Church papers of the day, devoted to a consideration of the services of Bishop Seabury to the American Church, were followed by an editorial attack in the *Episcopal Recorder* of July 26th, 1862. This Article was immediately answered in the columns of the *Christian Times*, the paper in which the sketch of Bishop Seabury's life had appeared, and which had just before, in its Editorial columns, joined with the *Recorder* in the onslaught upon its own "Special Contributor." In the meantime, a learned and excellent Presbyter of the Diocese of Connecticut, indignant at, what appeared to him, the misrepresentations of the *Recorder's* Article, addressed a Letter to the Editor of that paper, in defence of Bishop Seabury. The *Recorder*, seizing upon certain points in the communication from Connecticut, without noticing at that time, or at a later date, the answer in the "*Times*," proceeded with a long and elaborate discussion of the question, reiterating its previous assertions, with certain changes of expression, and by the introduction of matter wholly irrelevant, and by—we can but say it—not unskillful misrepresentations of facts, and by inferences,—it seems to us,—illogical and absurd, endeavored to throw odium on the character of Bishop Seabury.

The fact that the answer in the *Times* remains unanswered, and that the principal points it was intended to meet were either comparatively left out of sight, or else modified in expression in the *Recorder's* second Editorial, will bear their weight with impartial minds. It is with the "Reply" to the Letter of the Rev. Dr. Hallam that we have now to do; and we shall confine ourselves patiently, and impartially, to a re-

view of each and every historical statement therein contained. We enter into this examination the more readily, as it will give us an opportunity to lay before our readers some most important facts, and recall some marked features in the early history of our Church, of the greatest interest, and which it is unwise for us to forget. It is this consideration, and this alone, which induces us to follow up this investigation.

We proceed at once to what the *Recorder* styles "the true issue," for the *resumé* of epithets and expressions, found in the Article on the *Church Review*, and the discussion of the right of the *Recorder* to defend or eulogize Bishop White, occupying nearly a column's space, cannot certainly be considered as verifying the heading, "Misstatements as to Bishop White," under which they appear. The account we have earlier given* of the treatment of Bishop Seabury by Bishop Provost was not, as the *Recorder* claims to "have already shown," "executed" "under the impulse of traditions which had no real foundation," but it was the presentation of documentary proof in elucidation of a dark chapter in our Ecclesiastical annals, and its defence, so far as the *Recorder's* exceptions are concerned, had already appeared in part, ere the date of the appearance of the Article we are now considering. To that defence we refer for our proof of the statements contained in the pages of the *Review*; simply premising, that, but for the brevity required in newspaper communications, other and equally weighty proof might have been brought forward from the sources therein indicated. It is then with the "True Issue" that we have to do. That issue is "the fact," to quote the *Recorder's* words, "first, that Bishop Seabury's past history showed him to be an unfit person to invite to take part in the organization of a Protestant and Republican Church," and consequently, that Bishop White, "in his early opposition to Bishop Seabury, was right." We might very easily dispose of this "fact," by the opposing "fact," stated in Bishop White's *Memoirs* of the Church,† and abundantly sustained by the MS. Letters of the time, that Bishop Seabury *was*

5 invited "to take part in the organization of" our "Protestant and Republican Church" prior to the meeting of the Convention of 1785, and almost immediately after his arrival in Connecticut; and that a long communication from him, in response to one from the Rev. Dr. William Smith, asking his advice, and presence, was read before that Convention, and served at least one good purpose, if we may judge from Bishop White's own words,—that of pointing "out a way of obviating" a "failure in England" of an application for the Episcopal Succession. We might also add the "fact," that Dr. White expressed the hope that Bishop Seabury might be present at this Meeting for the "organization of a Protestant and Republican Church," from the very first that was known of his arrival on our shores; and that his advice was sought, not only once, but several times, prior to the first Convention, both by Dr. White and Dr. Smith, in a way showing the fullest confidence and the most unbounded respect, on the part of both of these gentlemen, towards the first American Bishop. But we will go back of this alleged "fact," thus summarily disproved, to the *Recorder's* re-statement of the first point of "the true issue," which is as follows :

"What we did maintain, however, was, that Bishop Seabury's history, before the consecration of the Anglican line in 1787, was so marked with theological and political bitterness and extravagance, as to draw on him the animosity of Protestants, as well as Republicans, and that this was accompanied with a ridicule, which, though it excited pity among Episcopalians elsewhere, must have injured his influence."

We search in vain in the first Article in the *Recorder*, to which this paragraph refers, for any limitation of time such as our writer, more careful grown, here makes. But taking this as designed "to recall anything" he had earlier "said, inconsistent with the dignity and acceptability of the last few years of his life," which he professes himself "glad" to do, and even accepting his further change of the date of Seabury's conversion from "theological and political bitterness and extravagance" to amiability and zeal, found in the paragraph we quote below, we shall still join issue with him as to the facts of the case.

* See Am. Qu. Ch. Rev., Vol. XIV., p. 668, et. seq.

† 2d Ed., page 100. Vide also Skinner's *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*, page 52, and Hawks' and Perry's Reprint of the Old Journals, I., 452, 3.

6 "What we now propose to prove, however, is, that before 1786, when Bishop White's opposition to him was most strongly evidenced, the allegations of our former Article, as recapitulated by us above, are true."

In proof of these assertions, very different, as any one may see, on examination, from the unguarded expressions of the first Editorial, we have, under the sensation headings, of "Bishop Seabury's Early Controversies," "Crimination and Recrimination," "Bishops to be Disloyal and Venal," a column and a half, to which we propose to direct our attention.

"In 1768," says the *Recorder*, "when Dr." (it should be "Mr.")—Seabury then having simply his "M. A."—"Seabury, then in his thirty-ninth year, was Rector of St. Peter's, West-Chester, New York, a Convention of Episcopal Ministers met for the purpose of petitioning the English Government to commission Resident Bishops for America. Of this Convention Dr. Seabury was Secretary, but it by no means fairly represented the American Church. It embraced but a few Clergymen of the Extreme High-Tory and High-Flying Sect, and none of them from the Colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia, where four-fifths of the American Episcopalians were resident. The character of the petitioners, if not that of the petition, led to the belief, that the effort was made to revive an established Episcopate, with all its peculiarities so unsuited to colonial life. And at once a vehement opposition arose, not only from Whigs and non-Episcopalians, who, from political or Ecclesiastical reasons, dreaded the change, but from the entire body of the Church outside of the few parishes represented by the petitioners.—The first class objected to Bishops, *in toto*; the second, to any but those of the 'primitive' pattern."

Then follows a reference to the "*American Whig*," a volume rare indeed, but not so rare but that others than the Editor of the *Recorder* are familiar with it, and with the controversy, in which it first made its appearance. And in giving this reference, the Editor of the *Recorder* presumes, on the authority of an anonymous scribbler, in a violent, partizan, and political paper of a day when the license of the press was most licentious, to assert, in opposition to the express words of those who were principally concerned in this Convention, "that the effort was to revive an Established Episcopate, with all its peculiarities so unsuited to Colonial life." The statement of Mr. Seabury, over his own name, denying the assertions of the irresponsible "Q," are stigmatized by the *Recorder* as "certainly bellicose enough;" and when this anonymous libeller re-affirmed his slanders, still concealing his name, and called upon Seabury to produce the proof of his assertions, which he

7 claimed was in his (Seabury's) power, we are told that "this, Dr. Seabury, certainly very unfortunately for his own reputation, refused to do; and with this began a discussion, of which he appears a chief hero, and which continued, with singular violence, to entertain the public for two years."

At the outset of our examination of this tissue of misrepresentation, we must bespeak the reader's patience. In clearing up this matter, and placing it in its *historic* light, we shall be compelled to quote at length from the documents themselves, garbled extracts from which are furnished in the *Recorder's* Article, and it will be further necessary for us to review, somewhat in full, the whole controversy, which is so ingeniously seized upon by the Editor of the *Recorder* to blacken the character of Bishop Seabury's early career.

With this preliminary statement, we proceed to an examination of this paragraph. A reader unacquainted with the facts of the case, noticing the pains taken to inform us that this Convention "embraced but a few clergymen of the extreme High-Tory and High-Flying sect, and none of them from the Colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia, where four-fifths of the American Episcopalians were resident," would be somewhat surprised to learn that this Convention was not intended to embrace the Clergy of the Colonies other than New York at first, and subsequently, New York and New Jersey. It is certainly no discredit to the present Diocesan Convention of New York, that it does not embrace the Clergy of New England and those of the Middle and Southern States; and a statement, to the effect, that at any particular Session, or at the Sessions in general of the New York Convention, there were no representatives from other Dioceses, could but appear to one acquainted with the facts as a designed misrepresentation. It so happens that the minutes of the original meetings of this famous Convention are in existence. They have been a number of times in the hands of the writer of this Article, and we copy *verbatim et literatim* from the opening page of these interesting and valuable records, for the purpose of making good our explanation of the absence of deputies from the Middle and Southern Colonies.

The Clergy of the Province of New York, taking into their serious consideration the present State of the Church of England in the Colonies, where it is obliged to struggle against the Opposition of Sectaries of various Denominations, and also labours under the Want of the Episcopal Order, and all the Advantages and Blessings resulting therefrom; agreed upon holding voluntary Conventions, at least once in the year and oftener if Necessity required, as the most likely means to serve the Interest of the Church of England; as they could then not only confer together upon the most likely methods, but use their joint Influence and Endeavours to obtain the Happiness of Bishops, to support the Church against the unreasonable Opposition given to it in the Colonies, and cultivate and improve a good Understanding and Union with each other.

In pursuance of this Agreement, a voluntary Convention of the Clergy May 21, 1766. of the Province of New York, assisted by some of their Brethren from New Jersey and Connecticut, was held at the House of Doct'r Auchmuty, in New York, the 21st of May, 1766.

PRESENT,

The Rev'd Doct'r Johnson,	Mr. Cutting,
Doct'r Auchmuty,	Mr. Avery,
Doct'r Chandler,	Mr. Munro,
Mr. Charlton,	Mr. Jarvis,
Mr. Cooper,	Mr. Seabury,
Mr. Ogilvie,	Mr. McKean,
Mr. Cooke,	Mr. Inglis,*

As to the fewness of the clergy present, any one acquainted with the New York Clergy list of the time, can see at a glance what value we may attach to the insinuation. The recognition of this very Convention by the Archbishops and Bishops of England; the deference paid to its recommendations and suggestions by the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts;† and the names of the men comprising its members, three of whom became in after years American Bishops, and none of whom passed from earth without leaving a fragrant memory behind, should suffice to accredit the importance and the representative character of this

* From the original Minute-book in the hand-writing of Mr., afterwards Bishop, Seabury, still preserved in the hands of his family.

† *Vide Hawks' and Perry's Reprint of the Old Journals*, I., 384; *Clark's History of St. John's Ch., Elizabeth Town, N. J.*, Chapt. VI.; *Chandler's Life of Dr. Johnson, Appendix of Letters*, etc.

9 Convention. But we are assured, that "it by no means fairly represented the American Church" in this desire for an Episcopate. Let us examine this point. So far back as 1703, the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had received "addresses from divers parts of the continent, and islands adjacent, for a Suffragan, to visit the several Churches; ordain some, confirm others, and bless all."‡ Ten years later, the Clergy of Boston, together with the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of that Puritan Province, the laymen of Philadelphia and Burlington, and the clergy and laity of Maryland, sent addresses to the English Throne, expressing the same desire. In 1750, the clergy of Massachusetts Bay signed definite "proposals," drawn up by no less a man than Bishop Butler, meeting in full the objections of the Dissenters to the establishment of an American Episcopate, and settling the plan for further efforts for the accomplishment of this result. These "Proposals" are as follows, and their republication by Athorp, in his controversy with Dr. Mayhew, but a little before their incorporation into the "Appeal to the Public in behalf" of these efforts for the establishment "of the Church of England," issued under the sanction and by the direct appointment of this New York Convention, make them authoritative in their exposition of the nature of the plan.

"1st. That no coercive power is desired over the laity in any case; but only a power to regulate the behaviour of the clergy who are in Episcopal orders, and to correct and punish them according to the laws of the Church of England, in case of misbehaviour or neglect of duty; with such power as the commissaries abroad have exercised.

2dly. That nothing is desired for such bishops, that may in the least interfere with the dignity, or authority, or interest of the governor, or any other officer of state. Probate of wills, license for marriage, &c., to be left in the hands where they are, and no share of the temporal government is desired for the bishops.

3dly. The maintenance of such bishops not to be at the charge of the colonies.

4thly. No bishops are intended to be settled in places where the government is in the hands of dissenters, as in New England, &c., but authority to be given only to ordain clergy for such Church of England congregations as are among them, and to inspect into the manner and behaviour of the same clergy, and to confirm the members thereof."†

* Abstract for 1703 in *Lib'y of Brown Univ., Providence, R. I. Vide Church Review* IV., 553; *Hist. Coll. P. E. C.*; I., 139.

† *Chandler's Life of Johnson*. Eng. ed., p. 169.

About this time Secker, then Bishop of Oxford, addressed 10
to Mr. Walpole his exposition of the plan for establishing an
American Episcopate.

"The thing proposed," says his Lordship, "is, that two or three Persons should be ordained Bishops, and sent into our American Colonies, to administer Confirmation, and give Deacons' and Priests' Orders, to prepare Candidates, and exercise such Jurisdiction over the Clergy of the Church of England in those Parts, as the late Bishop of London's Commissaries did, or such as might be thought proper that any future Commissaries should, if this Design were not to take Place."^e

That this was the plan still recognized as the basis of the desired Episcopate at the time of the meeting of the New York Convention, and by the very men who composed it, is not only proved by the frequent allusions to it in the papers of this and similar gatherings, and in the Addresses they sent to the English Throne and the English Bishops, but also receives the strongest confirmation from the language of Archbishop Secker himself, in his Answer to Dr. Mayhew's attack on the Venerable Society, where, after asserting in the strongest terms that the Bishops for America were to "have no concern in the least with any Persons who do not profess themselves to be of the Church of England," and no authority "to infringe or diminish any Privileges and Liberties enjoyed by any of the Laity, even of our own Communion," he adds, "This is the REAL and ONLY SCHEME that hath ever been planned for Bishops in America, and whoever hath heard of any other hath been MISINFORMED through Mistake or Design." Well may we judge of the temper and Christian charity of the men whose cause the *Recorder* is so ready to espouse, and whose untruthful and malevolent assertions, it would, even at this late day, endeavor to sustain, when it is stated by the biographers of this amiable prelate, whose candor, ability and courtesy in this controversy the Puritan Dr. Mayhew could but confess, that

"Posterity will stand amazed, when they are told, that on this Account" (the endeavors he made for securing an American Episcopate on the basis we have represented) "his Memory has been pursued in Pamphlets and News-Papers with such unrelenting Rancour, and such unexampled Wantonness of Abuse, as he would scarce have deserved, had he attempted to eradicate Christianity out of America, and to introduce Mahometanism in its Room: Whereas, the plain Truth is, that all he

^e An Address from the Clergy of N. Y., &c., p. 22.

11 wished for, was nothing more than what the very best Friends to religious Freedom ever have wished for, a complete Toleration for the Church of England in that Country."^f

Based on this plan, and in continuance of efforts made from time to time in all parts of the Colonies from the beginning of the century, there were attempts to influence the Ministry and Bishops of Great Britain in behalf of an American Episcopate inaugurated in New York and New Jersey, in Connecticut, in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, by formal Addresses to the Throne, the Venerable Society, and the Archbishops and Bishops, and in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia by frequent letters from the clergy to those high in power. In this latter Colony a Convention of the Clergy, acting under the presidency of the Commissary of the Bishop of London for that Colony, but a few years later also addressed the Throne for Bishops in America. The learned and pious Jonathan Boucher, one of the most eminent of the Maryland Clergy, who wrote and preached in behalf of this movement, quotes from their petition these words :

"Bishops in America are to have no other authority, but such as is of a purely spiritual and ecclesiastical nature ; such as is derived from the Church, and not from the State ; which is to operate only upon the Clergy of the Church, and not on the Laity. They are not to interfere with the property or privileges, whether civil or religious, of Churchmen and Dissenters ; are only to exercise the original duties of their office, i. e., to ordain, to govern the clergy, and to administer confirmation."^g

It is true, that both in Maryland and Virginia there was opposition to this plan, and to every plan for the introduction of American Bishops. It is further true, that four' clergymen of Virginia protested against the Address of the Virginia Convention to the King, asking for Bishops, and that the large majority of the Clergy of that Colony failed to attend the Meeting of this Convention, though urged to do so by public invitation from the Commissary. Was it because they were more pious or more patriotic than those who desired Bishops ? By no means. The protesters were led by Samuel Henley, a

^f Life of Archbishop Secker, by Drs. Porter and Stanton, p. 54.

^g Boucher's View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution. Lond., 1797, p. 141.

Professor at William and Mary College, whose temper and character may be judged by his vilification of Archbishop Secker, found in the *Virginia Gazette* of July 18, 1771, and so shameless in language and wanting in taste, that the historian of the Virginia Church deems it "most charitable to his memory to withhold" his "name" as its author.*

Gwatkin, who was second in this protest, was troubled "with a disorder in his breast," when requested by the House of Burgesses to preach before them on the Fast day appointed with reference to the closing of Boston harbor by Parliament,† and with Henley returned to England, as Tories, the following year. These were the only protesters against the Address. Two other clergymen afterwards joined them; Hewitt, who appears to have deserted either the Church or the country at the breaking out of the Revolution, for we hear nothing more of him, and his name is not found among those who reorganized the Virginia Church, and William Bland. The standing of this man in the ministry, when contrasted with that of the venerable Johnson, the accomplished Caner, the elegant Apthorp, the indefatigable William Smith, the learned Chandler, the pious Boucher, and men, like them, of reputation, learning and years, who espoused their cause, may be learned from Bishop Meade's instructive volumes.‡ Ordained while this controversy was going on, without a regular parish, and afterwards denied a seat in the Virginia Conventions, "his only virtue was an attachment to the Revolutionary cause while he was minister in James City, and which brought him into some notice by our patriots in Williamsburg." "But," adds the Bishop, "he was a man of intemperate habits," and his life closed in the midst of a shameful struggle with another and a worthier man into whose parish he had intruded himself and his unhallowed ministrations. These four men were the only open assailants among the whole body of American Episcopalians, of the pious efforts of Chandler, Johnson, Boucher, and their

13 supporters. If others of the Clergy of Virginia gave little evidence of any wish for Bishops, we may assign either the charitable reason given by Bishop Meade, who says "that there was but one opinion as to the propriety and desirableness of the object, but only diversity as to the time and manner of effecting it;"* or we may venture to assert as the cause, that which is so sadly apparent to those who have read the unpublished letters of the pious Griffith, first Bishop-elect of Virginia, detailing the hindrances preventing his consecration,—the fear lest Episcopal authority should bring to discipline the flagrant and numerous offenders against common morality in the clerical ranks. That this latter reason had much to do with the lukewarm support the effort for the Episcopate received in Maryland, appears not only from the whole history of the Church in that Colony, dating as far back as the time of Commissary Bray's visitations early in that century, but especially from a letter addressed to the Bishop of London by Dr. Chandler, detailing the results of his personal inspection there in these sad words: "The general character of the Clergy, I am sorry to say, is most wretchedly bad."† Surely, only to quote the words of the "Address from the Clergy of New York and New Jersey,"—words whose "general tone" even the *Recorder* is forced to confess to be "prudent and just,"—"If there remain any Episcopalians, in these Colonies, who are not heartily reconciled to the Episcopate in Question, it is more than we have discovered; (One Gentleman in Boston must be excepted;) so that a Member of the Church of England, and a Friend to an American Episcopate on the Plan that we have pursued, have, for some time past, been looked upon here as synonymous Terms," furnishes us abundant testimony to rebut the sweeping assertions of the *Recorder* as to the "few clergymen of the Extreme High-Tory and High-Flying Sect," who are stated to have been all, who wished for American Bishops; while the further quotation, "that, out of a *Hundred* Clergymen belonging to Virginia, four have publicly opposed an Application for American Bishops, we can consider as no

* P. E. Hist. Collect. I, p. 150. Vide also 'An Address from the Clergy, &c,' foot note to p. 26.

† Vide Meade's *Old Churches, &c.*, II., 440.

‡ Ibid., I, p. 273, 274.

* *Old Churches, I.*, 170.

† *Hawks' Maryland*, p. 249; *Church Review*, IV., 576.

Proof of the general Aversion of the Inhabitants to such an Appointment," easily disposes of the four Clergymen, if more were needed to stamp their characters than the words we have given above. It must have been with terrible force that these additional words, from the same "Address," came home to these men of whose temper and character so little that is creditable can be said: "Indeed, we had always thought it impossible, both from the Reason of Things, and from what we had seen and experienced, that any Episcopal Clergymen should be averse to the Presence of Bishops, EXCEPTING ONLY SUCH DELINQUENTS AS HAVE REASON TO DREAD THEIR INSPECTION. We hope, however, that this is not the Case of the Four Gentlemen that *protested*, with whose Characters we are not particularly acquainted."*

In North Carolina and Georgia the Church had not even a name to live. In South Carolina the fear of a Bishop could not have arisen from "Protestant or Republican" grounds, for it continued even after the Revolution, and its cause may be inferred when a prominent minister of Charleston is found challenging a brother clergyman to a duel for exposing his authorship of what Bishop White calls a "licentious pamphlet," leveled against Bishop Seabury, and when this conduct, resented by the whole Church at the northward, only found support in the person of one, his friend, Robert Smith—who used the highest position in the Church to shield him from the punishment demanded by no other than Bishop White himself.

With these words, we leave to the judgment of intelligent readers the assertion of the *Recorder*, that the Convention "by no means fairly represented the American Church," so far as the desire for the Episcopate is concerned, and with this explanation, rendered necessary by the *Recorder's* strange endorsement of the attacks upon the Church by the political Presbyterians of New York, we dismiss the question whether "the effort was to revive an established Episcopate, with all its peculiarities unsuited to Colonial life." And with the statements

15 we have made, drawn from authentic sources, and easily supported by other and abundant testimonies, printed and manuscript, in our hands, we ask for impartial judgment as to the "vehement opposition not only from Whigs and non-Episcopalians, who, from political and ecclesiastical reasons, dreaded the change, but from the entire body of the Church outside of the few parishes represented by the petitioners."

And now for the share Mr. Seabury had in this controversy. We have already alluded to the strange readiness shown by the Editor of a paper, professing itself the *Episcopal Recorder*, to accept the testimony of anonymous assailants of the Church and its Clergy in preference to the testimony of our own Ministers, when freely given over their own names. What shall we say, then, when we find on examining the original records of this Convention, that the assertion made by "Q" and revived by the *Episcopal Recorder*,—simply, we can but think, because aimed at one the *Recorder* delights to dishonor,—that, "what Dr. Seabury and his associates desired, was *not* a primitive Bishop, but one invested with territorial power and wealth; and declaring that their petitions contained injurious reflections on other denominations," is completely disproved;—that the Convention commits itself, both in its private discussions and public statements, to the plan of a "Primitive Bishop," and no other, and that so far as "injurious reflections on other denominations" are concerned, the Preamble to the record we publish from the Minute Book in Mr. Seabury's hand writing, is a fair sample of the allusions to "other denominations;" and that these words, and all we have ever seen, emanating from this source,—and our researches with reference to this matter are neither limited nor without access to all the documents necessary to obtain a full knowledge of what was desired or what was accomplished in the affair,—are eminently dignified, courteous and fair, presenting the most marked contrast to the dreary pages of records, attacks, remonstrances, petitions, instructions, &c., it has been our task to examine as coming from the other side. With regard to Mr. Seabury's Letter, it is unjust to the writer to suppress, as the *Recorder* does, its opening sentences explanatory of its appearance and *apropos* to the matter in

* Pp. 5, 6, of the "Address," &c.

hand. We give it in full below, and leave our readers to judge whether, under the circumstances it details, an emphatic branding of the falsehood of the American Whig was not called for, and whether, under the provocation, the language of Seabury was at all too strong. We only regret that others cannot, for themselves, as we have done, find still stronger cause for Seabury's plain, unvarnished denunciation of what is now confessed by both sides to have been groundless assertion and misrepresentation, only designed to affect personal and political ends, in a patient examination of the language and temper of this "American Whig," thus called from a dishonored grave by the Editor of an *Episcopal Recorder* to bear testimony against the first American Bishop.

But it would ill accord with our taste, and certainly prove irrelevant to our purpose, to cull, from the ill-tempered Articles of this acrimonious controversy, the epithets "hurled" from side to side in a dispute which was throughout political as well as ecclesiastical. It is enough to say, from personal and impartial examination, that while neither side is rightly free from the charge of great asperity, there is no language too low, no denunciation too strong, no misrepresentations too base, no accusations too shameless, to be freely branded by the Presbyterian partisans of the Livingston clique, against the Church, its members, its ministers and its ministrations. But we have simply to do with the *two* Letters of Seabury, occupying less than eleven pages out of more than eight hundred, and the only replies he made to long continued abuse and malevolent insinuation. The first is as follows :

From Mr. Gaine's Gazette, Monday, March 28, [1768.]

An Advertisement to the Public.

WHEREAS an anonymous Writer, who styles himself *The American Whig*, in his last Monday's Publication, viz No. II., hath accused "a certain Convention of the Episcopal Clergy here," of having transmitted "seven petitions, to some of the most respectable personages in England, earnestly soliciting Bishops for America; representing the deplorable condition of an *unwarmed* Church, &c.—and "not sparing very injurious reflections upon the other denominations, as *seditions* "*Incendiaries*, and *disaffected to King and Government*." I beg leave to observe, that I have acted as *Secretary* to the Convention, from its first formation, and have particularly attended to, and carefully read, every petition that they have transmitted to England, "*soliciting Bishops for America*," and I do affirm, that the Convention

17

have never made any "injurious reflections upon the other Denominations," by representing them either "as *seditions incendiaries*," or as "disaffected to the King and Government." I do moreover affirm and declare, that this assertion of the *American Whig*, is absolutely, utterly and entirely false and groundless. And I hereby call upon him in this open manner, both as a member of, and as Secretary to the Convention, publicly to produce the authorities upon which he has asserted so infamous a falsehood. In this case the most positive proof is insisted on, nor will the respectable Public be put off with a poor, simple, "We are told," which is nothing to the purpose.

Should any person think that I do not treat this writer with proper respect, let him turn to the last paragraph of the *American Whig*, No. I, where Dr. Chandler and the Convention, (Gentlemen at least as respectable as himself) are accused of the grossest falsehood and deceit, in pretending to ask for a Bishop only upon the plan proposed in the *Appeal*, while it is "not a primitive Bishop they want." But, &c. Such a piece of effrontery and malice, I think, deserves, and would justify, worse treatment than a regard to my own character would suffer me to give him.

March, 23, 1768.

S. SEABURY.

In reading this communication, with the full knowledge of the statements, so prejudicial to the Church and so injurious in their reflections upon the character of pious and learned Clergymen of our own Communion, we fail to see in it the "key note" to any thing but a very natural indignation called forth by the unscrupulous attack of the Presbyterians. As such, we leave it to the judgment of our readers.

A single word is due to the point attempted to be made by the *Recorder* with regard to the failure of Seabury, "certainly very unfortunately for his own reputation," to produce the documents referred to. We append from the "Minute Book" of the New York Convention, the following rule of that body, adopted prior to the breaking out of this controversy, and consequently not occasioned by it, but which was in force when this impudent demand was made.

A Rule of the Convention. On a Motion made, it was agreed unanimously, That no Copy of the Convention. any Minute or Minutes of the Convention, be given to any Person except to a Member, without a particular Order of the Convention." pp. 29, 30, MS. Minutes.

Originally adopted to prevent the public appearance of such records of their proceedings as had reference to inefficient or immoral Clergymen, of whose irregularities they had, by direction of the Venerable Society, received the oversight, this "rule of Convention" would effectually preclude any other denial of the assertions of "Q" in the "American Whig" than that which

Seabury made. We cannot understand on what principle the Editor of the *Recorder* regards it deficient. We call upon him the rather, if he would still espouse the cause of an anonymous scribbler against a responsible and respectable man, to produce from the petitions themselves, or from the further lucubrations of "Q," or any, or all, of the writers of the "*Whig*," any *extract* supporting "Q's" statements. Surely the "*ones pro-bandi*" did not rest on Seabury, and does not now rest on the defenders of Seabury, but on the other side. And premising that we are ready and willing to enter into this matter further if the *Recorder* wishes, we pass to the second division of the *Recorder's* defence of its first statement,—"*Crimination and Recrimination.*"

In this discussion, we are told that Seabury "appears a chief hero," and that "throughout its progress it exhibits Dr. Seabury and his friends as maintaining principles in hostility not only to a free government, but to a pure and Protestant Church." Turning to the Controversy itself, not merely to that portion of it, by no means all, contained in the *Whig*, but to the whole discussion as contained in the original newspapers of the day, we are at once surprised, after this effort on the part of the *Recorder* to fasten the "chief" or at least a "chief hero's" part on Seabury, to discover but two Letters out of several hundred, as emanating from his pen. We shall be still more surprised, if we have been wont to suppose the *Recorder* sufficient authority for simple facts, to find that these Letters, so far as Seabury is concerned, do *not* display *him*, at least, "as maintaining principles in hostility, not only to a free government, but to a pure and Protestant Church," since, with reference to the first assertion, they have nothing at all to do with politics; and in the second place, they avow no other principles than those of the Church of England, which, we trust, the *Recorder* will allow to have been sufficiently "pure and Protestant" as it was then "identified" "with the House of Hanover." We give both of these Letters in full, so that our readers may judge for themselves of the correctness of our assertion; and we only ask their patient reading, for the vindication of Seabury's temper, character and principles with regard to this and other equally baseless charges made by the *Recorder*.

19 We might perhaps be justified in discussing the ingenuousness of the *Recorder* in this palpable attempt to shift upon Seabury the weight of responsibility of the interminable replies to the attacks of the *American Whig*; but, simply asserting that it is impossible to fasten upon Seabury the authorship of even one of these communications other than those appearing over his own name, and which we print for general examination, we pass to the matter of the "temper of the discussion" and "Dr. Seabury's" "own bearing." For the "temper of the discussion," as a whole, we very heartily endorse the remarks of Dr. Hawks in his Article on the "Episcopate before the Revolution," republished in the first volume of the Historical Collections of our Church. In passing, we may state, that so little identified was Seabury with the discussion, that the writer of this elaborate *resumé* of the whole controversy does not allude to him at all, save when mentioning in a foot-note that he, with others, was present at the Meeting of the Clergy requesting Dr. Chandler to undertake the defence of the efforts made by them for securing an Episcopate. This surely does not look as though Mr. Seabury was a "chief hero" in the discussion.

But, with reference to "his own bearing" we are told that we find him in "a letter dated December, 9, 1798," [1768] "hurling at his antagonist the terms 'malevolent,' 'false,' &c., &c., and after the elaborate summing up of these epithets, the writer in the *Recorder* inquires, 'are we to wonder that his antagonist should, after that period, decline entering into a formal altercation with a man of his ungovernable passion and illiberal language?'" Let us investigate the facts of the case. In the course of this controversy, the *American Whig*, attributing to "Mr. S-b-r-y" an anonymous Article that had appeared in the *Gazette* devoted to the interests of the Church party, asserted that it had an "original letter" from a "member of the Society for Propagating the Gospel," then in Boston, denying and disproving a statement that Article contained. Acting on the supposition, a groundless one, as it afterward appeared,—that Seabury was the author of the Article referred to,—the writer proceeded to berate Seabury in what he very correctly styles "the most injurious and scurrilous Manner." This Letter, sent

from Boston to New York by no other person than Charles Chauncey, D. D., of Boston, the celebrated antagonist of the Church, and printed by his direction under a flourish of trumpets that the original could be examined at the printer's shop, was signed "B. W.," the initials of Gov. Benning Wentworth, of Portsmouth, the only American Member of the S. P. G., whose name answered to the initials appended to the Letter. This fact, and the knowledge all men had that Gov. Wentworth was a strong Episcopalian, gave to this Letter great importance, and naturally called for Seabury's notice. The more so, when Mr. Parker, the printer of the paper, in whose hands the pretended "original letter" was deposited, asserted to Seabury himself and to others, that Gov. Wentworth was its author. A note addressed to the Governor produced from him the information that the Letter "was a villainous piece of forgery!" Further investigation followed, and at length it appeared that *Dr. Chauncey himself had signed these initials to the document*. This the Dr. acknowledged afterwards, endeavoring to shuffle over the matter as if these initials were affixed, without a knowledge that they belonged to the Governor of the Province of New Hampshire. In the mean time, when all New York was ablaze at the loud assertions of the Presbyterians, that the Governor was the author of this strange attack on Seabury and the Church, Seabury appeared in print with his long and able defence. That the epithets culled from various portions of this communication, without a single exception we believe, are contained in its pages, we do not pretend to deny. That they were 'hurled at his antagonist' unnecessarily, or without sufficient provocation, we do deny. A great public wrong had been attempted. A personal and unprovoked injury had been inflicted. It was right and proper to brand the "falsehood" as a "fraud" and a "forgery." It was such. As such, it could only have come from "a heart inflamed by malice" and "a deceitful hand." There was no other means left open for Seabury's vindication. Through the columns of the press the attack had been made. In no other way could the defence reach those who had listened to the groundless charges it was intended to deny. And it was the strength of the *facts* that led his antagonist in the

21 "Whig" to decline "any further altercation." The fact that the "Whig" in its collected form goes but a few pages further, though the controversy raged for months afterward, shows how damaging Seabury's indignant reply was found. Dr. Chauncey himself did not think it unnecessary to endeavor to exculpate himself. And when Seabury's triumphant rejoinder to that defence, forced him to silence, we have found in this long interval no further attempt to cast odium on Seabury, at least not until the *Episcopal Recorder* entered the lists to wage an unequal contest against him, with the bruised and battered weapons thrown down as useless by the Presbyterians, whose cause the *Recorder* so gladly repousses and essays to defend.

We ask then the perusal of this long Letter which we give in full. We only wish to remark, in dismissing this charge of the Recorder, that we cannot repress our indignant denial of the assertion that Seabury applied, as a personal epithet, the phrase "Aged Horse" as the Recorder distinctly states that he did. As will be seen on examination, in quoting a line from Horace as applicable to the matter in hand, he adds the rendering given by the standard English translator of the poet, for the benefit of such readers as knew no Latin. This surely does not justify the *Recorder* in quoting the phrase, as it does, as illustrative of Seabury's "coarseness." And the fact that it is thus quoted without right or reason, goes far to sustain the charge of manifest unfairness in the *Recorder* itself.

A Whig FOR THE American Whig.

By TIMOTHY TICKLE, ESQ. [No. XXXVII.]

TO TIMOTHY TICKLE, ESQ.

SIR,

As you have frequently gratified occasional Correspondents, by publishing their Productions in your Paper, I hope you will favour me so far, as to give a Place therein, to the following Animadversions upon a Letter signed B. W., which appeared in the New-York Gazette, or Weekly Post-Boy, of the 29th of August last, printed by James Parker, Esq.; . . . and indeed, I have some Right to be included in this Request, as the unmanly Attack that was made upon me in that Letter, was occasioned by a Paper published in your Whig, of July the 4th. Your Compliance will oblige your very humble Servant.

West-Chester, Dec. 9, 1768.

S. SEABURY.

AS it is now more than probable that the Public has by this Time forgot a 22

Letter signed B. W., which was published by JAMES PARKER, Esq.; Comptroller of the Post-Office, in New-York, Land-Writer in the Custom-House, and Printer of the New-York-Gazette, or the Weekly Post-Boy, in his News-Paper of the 29th of August last, in which I am treated in the most injurious and scurrilous Manner; I shall give the Reader an Opportunity of re-examining the whole Letter as it stood in Mr. Parker's Paper: That no Imputation may lie against me, of misquoting or misrepresenting it.

Mr. Parker introduced the Letter with the following Preamble, viz.:

The Printer thought proper to inform the public, that he received the following letter from a gentleman of figure in Boston, who has, several years past, been a member of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and, last only person should doubt the genuineness of this letter, the Printer hereby gives notice, That the original is now in his hands, and ready to be shewn to any person, who is desirous of satisfaction on this head.

Boston, August 5, 1788.

To Mr. James Parker, Printer of the American Whig:

I OBSERVE that Mr. S-b-r-y, as I suppose, in his paper, printed in the New-York Gazette of July 4, very decently for a clergyman, gives Dr. Chauncy the lie, for asserting, as he says, that "all candidates for holy orders, in the Church of England, have the expenses of their home voyage paid by the society, etc." B would not have been impertinent if this disclaimer against falsehood, had mentioned some passage in the Doctor's answer, referring to the page, whereon he affirms this for fact. . . . *III* he is pleased to do this, I shall take the liberty to think that the Dr. has affirmed no such thing. He has indeed affirmed, "that the society has publicly given an invitation to all the Colony-students, who desire Episcopal ordination, to come to England, assuring them that their expenses in going to, and returning from thence, shall be defrayed by the Society;" and he has faithfully referred his readers to the very abstract and page, in which this invitation and promise are contained. Upon which, I might ask this stickler for impartiality in writing, whether it was fair dealing to keep so important a fact entirely out of sight? Let him, if he can, assign some better reason for his passing it over in silence, than his not knowing what to do with it. He probably knows, if he does not, I now tell him, till he is able to prove, that the Society never published the above cited invitation and promise, or that they have since published their revocation of them, the world will judge, and are authorized to judge, that they are bound in strict justice to defray the expense any young students, who go to England for Episcopal ordination, are put to on this account, unless it is paid in some other way. This is all the Dr. wanted, or had in view, in order to a full proof of the point in debate, namely, that the want of a Bishop in America was no great hardship to candidates, on account of the expense that would arise from their crossing the Atlantic. This might be galling to our correspondent with 'Esq. Tickle, and the true reason, at bottom, of his rude and injurious reflections on the Dr.

I am not ignorant, that the Society, for some time, have not defrayed the expense of voyages to England for holy orders. And why? because there was no need of it; as this expense has been paid, not by the candidates themselves, but by the *conscientious* who expect the benefit of their labours, or by private donations from other persons here, who wish the growth of the Church, or by the joint contributions of both. Very few, if any, candidates, I have reason to know, have, for many years, come from this part of

23 the country for ordination, but the expense of their voyages have been provided for in one or other of those ways. I have myself been frequently called upon for help in such cases, and have always been free to afford it. And as the expense of candidates has been borne by others, and in order to lessen the disbursements of the Society, which would otherwise have been claimable, and must in honour and conscience have been paid by them, the Doctor's argument remains strong, and cannot be invalidated.

I shall not think it improper to let this overzealous writer know, that I am not only a son of the Church of England, a real hearty friend to its growth and prosperity, but one who has the honour of being a member of the incorporated Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts. I am also a friend to decency, good manners, and a becoming treatment, especially, of respectable characters; and what is more, I am a friend to truth and honest impartiality; and, as I am fully convinced, that the representations the Society have had from this side the water are, in many instances, not only unfair, but notoriously false, I am obliged to say, what I really think, that the greatest occasion we, at present, have for a Bishop in America, is to correct and keep in order such troublesome persons as this associate with *The American Whig* appears to be, who, with some others of the like malevolent spirit, have impertinently disturbed the quiet of this country for sometime past. B. W.

I was so little conscious of deserving the malevolent strictures, and false insinuations contained in this Letter, that had there been another Clergyman in this, or either of the neighbouring Colonies, whose Name thus *guilted*, would have answered to S-b-r-y in this Letter, I should have had no Suspicion that it was intended for me. But as I found myself so particularly pointed out, I took the first Opportunity of calling on Mr. Parker, to see the *original* Letter. Mr. Parker shewed me a written Paper, signed only B. W., and dated at Boston. I immediately took Notice that the Direction at the Head of this written Paper, "To Mr. James Parker, &c.," and I think the Date at Boston, were in a different Hand and Ink, from the other Writing. Upon my Expressing my Surprise, that he should produce this Paper, signed only B. W., as an *original* Letter "from a Gentleman of Figure in Boston," . . . and demanding of him who the Author was, . . . Mr. Parker, after some *Shuffling* and *Hesitation*, named BENNING WENTWORTH, Esq., late Governor of the Province of New-Hampshire, as the Author; and affirmed that the written Paper he then shewed me, was his Hand-Writing. Being asked by me whether he (Parker) had received the written Paper, signed B. W., from the late Governor Wentworth; . . . he replied, that *he himself* did not receive it; but that it was sent by Dr. Chauncy, of Boston, to some Gentlemen of this City, to be published in his Paper; and that if I *denied* or *doubted* its being the Hand-Writing of the late Governor Wentworth, he was ready to prove it. . . . Comparing in my own Mind, Mr. Parker's Answers, and the Circumstance that the Direction at the Top of the written Paper, was in a different Hand and Ink, from the other Writing, I could not help suspecting that there was some *Fraud* or *Forgery* in the Case: And finding from Mr. Parker's frequent *Shiftings* and *Shufflings*, that he was not a proper Person to be conversed with alone on such an Occasion; . . . after telling him, that he had in no wise complied with his own Preamble to the Letter he had printed, . . . that I doubted its being the late Governor Wentworth's, and that he should be applied to about it, I left him.

As Mr. Parker had told other Persons that the Letter, signed B. W., was written

by the late Governor Wentworth, a Gentleman of Character in this City had, before I came to Town, written to a Friend of his at Portsmouth concerning the Affair; his Friend's Answer inclosed the following Letter from the late Governor Wentworth to him, viz.:

Portsmouth, Sept 18, 1768.

“IN the short Time I have had to consider of the Letter signed B. W., which Mr. ——— advises one Parker had printed in his Paper of 29th August past, I can only at present assert, That the Contents, and *Every Clause* therein contained, is a villainous Piece of Forgery: And if any Measures can be taken to obtain the original Letter, the Villains may be discovered: And if that cannot be effected, and a legal Prosecution of *Parker* will answer, or be serviceable, I will be at the Expence.

I am, sir, your most humble Servant,

B. WENTWORTH.”

After I had seen this Letter from Mr. Wentworth, I again called on Mr. Parker, in Company with a Gentleman of undoubted Credit, in order to obtain a second Sight of the Paper in his Possession, that I might compare the Writing, with the Letter from Mr. Wentworth. Mr. Parker complained that I had not, when I was last at his House, treated him like a Gentleman; and then he repeatedly declared that the Letter Papers, and said he could not find it; but he repeatedly declared that the Letter signed B. W., and published in his News-Paper, was written by Benning Wentworth, Esq.; and transmitted to New-York by Dr. Chauncey, of Boston, with a Direction to have it printed in his Paper. Upon my desiring him to produce his Proofs, which, in a former Conversation, he had said he could give, that the Letter published by him was written by Mr. Wentworth, he replied, . . . that he was obliged immediately to attend a Corpse into the Country, and therefore had not Time, but that if I doubted the Authenticity of the said Letter, if I would go to Mr. Thomas Smith, Attorney at Law, he had such Proofs in his Hands as would effectually convince me; for that Mr. Smith had received it from Dr. Chauncey, whom he supposed I would esteem a Man of Veracity.

From Mr. Parker, I went in Company with the same Gentleman who was with me at Mr. Parker's, to Mr. Thomas Smith. Upon mentioning my Business, and telling him that Mr. Parker had declared that Mr. Wentworth was the Author of the Letter signed B. W., and that it was Mr. Wentworth's Hand-Writing; and that Mr. Parker had said that he received the Letter from him, and had referred me to him for the Proofs that the Letter was Mr. Wentworth's; . . . he replied, that he had indeed given the said Letter to Mr. Parker to be printed, that he received it from Mr. Rogers, who received it inclosed in a Letter from Dr. Chauncey, who received it from the *Gentleman himself* in Boston; . . . that it was not Mr. Wentworth's own Hand-Writing, for that Mr. Wentworth was an old Man, and could not write; but that it was written by his Order, and that he signed B. W. to it, and gave it to Dr. Chauncey, who inclosed it to Mr. Rogers, who delivered it to him, (Thomas Smith,) who put it into the Hands of James Parker, Esq.; who printed it in his Paper. I observed upon this, that Mr. Wentworth did not live in Boston. To which Mr. Smith replied, that he was in Boston at that Time, and that if it would be any Satisfaction to me, if I would wait till the following Week, an Affidavit

25 would arrive from Boston, to prove that the Gentleman was the Author of the said Letter.

As I observed that Mr. Smith cautiously avoided mentioning Mr. Wentworth's Name, but always expressed himself by the Term . . . *the Gentleman*, I suspected that all was not fair. I therefore pressed him more closely, and then he said, that one Reason why he thought the Letter to be written by Mr. Wentworth, was, that B. W. were the initial Letters of no other Name on the Society's List of Members, but of Mr. Wentworth's only. . . . As I went out of Mr. Smith's Office, I told him that I had such Proofs in my Pocket, that Mr. Wentworth was not the Author, as would surprize him and all concerned. After we came into the Street, I insisted, that as Mr. Smith had been so very officious, as to go between Mr. Rogers, and Mr. Parker, in the Affair of printing the Letter signed B. W., in which I thought myself very cruelly and unjustly treated, he ought in Justice to procure me a Sight of Dr. Chauncey's Letter to Mr. Rogers. Mr. Smith replied, that I might take what Steps I pleased; that he would give himself no Trouble about it, unless he chanced to see Mr. Rogers; and that he never had told Mr. Parker, or any other Person, that the Letter signed B. W. was written by Mr. Wentworth.

I forgot to mention, that in my Conversation with Mr. Parker, when I told him that he had not complied with his Promise in the Introduction which he had printed to the Letter signed B. W., he answered, That he did not write that Introduction; that he objected to its being printed, and that therefore he did not think himself obliged by it, . . . or Words to that Purpose.

From Mr. Smith's, I immediately went to Mr. Rogers' House, but he was from Home, on a Journey into New-Jersey, tho' expected to return that Night, or in the Morning. I called again, two or three Times the next Day, but he had not returned. The next Week I set out on a Journey to Philadelphia, and when I returned, Mr. Rogers was gone into New England, so that I had no Opportunity of seeing him till some Time in November. Upon my mentioning my Business to him, he behaved with great Openness and Candour; readily gave me a Sight of Dr. Chauncey's Letter to him. He without Hesitation also declared that he did not know, and never had heard who wrote the Letter signed B. W. That when he was lately in Boston, Dr. Chauncey mentioned the Matter, but did not choose to make known the Author's Name.

In Dr. Chauncey's Letter to Mr. Rogers, according to the best of my Recollection, (for Mr. Rogers did not think himself at Liberty to permit any Extracts to be taken from it,) he says, That the Letter, signed B. W., was written by an Inhabitant of the Town of Boston; an Episcopalian by Principle and Education, and for several Years past a Member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; . . . that it was written voluntarily, and unsolicited by him, and put into his Hands for him to make what use he pleased of it; . . . that the Author wrote it with a View of Excultating him (Chauncey) from an Accusation of Falsehood, in a Paper published in Mr. Gaine's Gazette, and Weekly Mercury, July the 4th.

[The Remainder, containing Reflections on the Letter signed B. W., in our next.]

A Continuation of Mr. SEABURY's Letter, begun in our last.

HAVING thus given a just and faithful historical Account of this Affair, I shall now make some Reflections upon the Letter itself. And

1st, I shall take Notice of the Spirit and Temper with which it is written. It appears, both from the Letter itself, and from Dr. *Chauncey's* Letter to Mr. *Rogers*, that the Design of the Letter-Writer was to vindicate him (Dr. *Chauncey*) from an Accusation of Falseness; . . . But with what Spirit has the Author done this, or more properly attempted it? . . . With the most *malevolent Party Rage*, and with such *Rancour* and *Ill-Nature*, as none but a Heart inflamed by Malice could dictate. The whole Letter shows this to have been the Temper and State of Mind in which it was written, and no Censure passed upon it can possibly expose it. Instead of vindicating Dr. *Chauncey*, he rails at Mr. *S-b-r-y*; accuses him of "giving Dr. *Chauncey* the Lie," . . . of making "rude and injurious Reflections on the Dr.," . . . of being a "troublesome Person," . . . of a "malevolent Spirit," . . . of having "impertinently disturbed the Quiet of this country for some Time past," and strange to tell! of being a "Declamer against Falseness," and a "Stuckler for Impartiality in writing." . . . If, by this *Country*, the Letter-Writer means *Boston*, and the Territory thereunto belonging, I seriously declare, That I have been so far from "disturbing the Quiet of that Country," that I never was in it; that I have no Agents in it; that I do not recollect ever to have wrote a single Letter to any Person in it; . . . In short, I have, and desire to have, nothing to do with it.

If by this *Country*, the Letter-Writer means the *American Colonies* in general; . . . I do not remember that I have done any Thing by which the Quiet of any one Person could have been disturbed, except that I once called the *American Whig* to an Account, for his *Effrontery* in saying, that Dr. Chandler and the *Consentation* do not desire such a Bishop as is mentioned in the *Appeal*: And if the *American Whig* will allow me a very small Share of that Vanity with which he himself is so replete, I can confidently affirm, that in the Affair litigated between us at that Time, I "laid him fairly on his Back without knowing my Antagonist;" . . . whether he hath since gotten upon his Legs, or whether, *ad huc procumbit Hemi Bos*, is a Matter of more Consequence to him than to me.

2dly. The Letter signed B. W., as far as it relates to me, is utterly, absolutely and entirely false and groundless. And tho' this Writer is so very angry with Mr. *S-b-r-y*, for giving, as he says, "Dr. *Chauncey* the Lie," yet he himself has written without any Regard to Truth. I speak only of what relates to myself in B. W.'s Letter, . . . a lying Heart hath directed a deceitful Hand. . . . I positively declare, that I was so far from being the Author of the Paper to which he refers, that I never saw it, heard it, thought of it, or dreamed of it, 'till it made its public Appearance in Mr. Gaine's Paper of July the 4th. . . . Who B. W. is, I know not, and to speak the Truth, care not. But B. W. says he is "a Son of the Church of England," . . . "a real Friend to its Growth and Prosperity," . . . "a Member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," . . . a Friend to Decency, good "Manners, and a becoming Treatment, especially, of respectable Characters," . . . "and what is more, . . . a Friend to Truth and honest Impartiality." . . . If Mr. B. W. is endowed with all these good Qualifications, it is very strange that not one of them should shew itself in the Letter now under my Consideration. . . . Is he a Son of the Church of England? Let him remember that the Church teaches and requires him to keep his Tongue from Evil Speaking, Lying, and Slandering. Is he a Friend to the Growth and Prosperity of the Church? . . . Why then does he take Part with its avowed Enemy? Why does he represent those who contend only for its real and just rights and Privileges, as troublesome Persons, of a

malevolent Spirit, who have impertinently disturbed the Quiet of their Country for some time past? Is he "a Member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel?" That venerable body have ever cherished, countenanced, and protected those Missionaries that did their Duty; they never abused, slander'd, or vilified them, in anonymous Letters and scurrilous Papers. . . . Is he "a Friend to Decency and good Manners, and a becoming Treatment, especially of respectable Characters?" Why then has he treated me with so much Indecency and Ill-Manners? If a steady and sincere Desire and Endeavour to do my Duty in that honourable State of Life to which it hath pleased God to call me, will entitle me to any Respect, I may, without Vanity affirm, that my Character is respectable enough to have entitled me to a more becoming Treatment. . . . Is he "a Friend to Truth and honest Impartiality?" How could such a Person write such a Letter! . . . A Letter from which, if you take all that is false and partial, you will leave a mere *Chart Blanch*.

Mr. B. W. says I "gave Dr. *Chauncey* the Lie." It is a Form of Speech in which I do not allow myself to my menial Servants: And with Regard to any Thing Dr. *Chauncey* hath said in his Answer to Dr. *Chandler's* Appeal, I am so far from giving him the Lie, that I deliberately declare I never read more than a Dozen Pages in it, and never intend to read a Dozen more. . . . When an Author can calmly and seriously set himself to establish such wild Positions as that the Church of England does not teach the Divine Right of Episcopacy, and that her Reformers did not believe it, I can spend my Time much more profitably than in giving him the Reading. Perhaps it may be alledged in Excuse for the Dr. that he wrote his Pamphlet in less than two Months; that he is an old Man, and therefore it must be expected he will be tedious and positive: Tediousness and Positiveness being often the Foibles of old Age. This I confess would be a good Excuse for not writing at all; and it is much to be lamented, that the Dr. does not avail himself of it, and of the Poet's Advice,

Solve senescentem maturè sanus Equum, ne
Pœcet ad Extremum ridendus, & Ilia ducat. HOR.

Loose from the rapid Car your aged Horse,
Lest in the Race derided, left behind,
He drag his aged Limbs and burst his Wind.

FRANCIS.

That the Dr. is in some Danger of meeting with this Accident, every one must be sensible, who considers with what Rapidity he answered Dr. *Chandler*, if any Credit is due to the *American Whig*. And now behold he hath advertised a Volume of *Thirty Sheets at least*, in which the *Fathers* of the Church are, many Centuries after their *Martyrdom*, again to be put to the Rack, and tortured into Confessions. If however the Dr. should escape this Fate, the following Line of another Poet, will be very applicable to so voluminous a Writer. . . . See who ne'er was nor will be half-read. . . . This, as I put no Motto to this Paper, may serve instead of one to those who are fond of Mottos; and I hope it will not be thought the worse for being introduced in the Body of my Performance.

3dly. I shall take notice of the villainous Baseness of this Writer, in putting B. W. at the End of his Letter. Possibly he thought he had a Right to press any two Letters in the Alphabet into his Service. But certainly it is a most extraordinary

fix the initial Letters of another Member's Name to his scandalous Production: Especially when it is considered that B. W. are the initial Letters of no other Name on the Secretary's List of Members, but only of Benning Wentworth, Esq.; and that this B. W.'s Letter, tho' now it has all the Appearance of a *base-born* Child, brought forth in Secrecy, was ushered into the World, by *James Parker*, Esq.; who acted the Part of Man-Midwife at its Birth, as the *legitimate* Offspring of a *reputable* Parent, who was ready to *own, support, and defend* it. Whether the Writer intended by this artful Conduct, to lead People into a Belief that the Letter was really written by a Gentleman of so established a Reputation as Mr. Wentworth is, in order to give a greater Weight to his Assertions; or whether it was with a Design to terrify Mr. *S-b-r-y* from replying to his infamous Performance, it is not easy to determine: Possibly both these Motives may have concurred, to induce him to proceed in this dastardly, fraudulent Manner. The first of these Intentions was fully answered in this Place, by the signing B. W. to the Letter, and by Mr. *Parker's* positive Assertion, *That Mr. Wentworth was the Author of it*. That the other Design did not succeed, the Author is, by this Time, I believe, pretty well convinced.

The Author has declared himself a Member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and Dr. *Chasney* says (if I remember right) in his Letter to Mr. Rogers, "that he is an Inhabitant of the Town of Boston." I have carefully examined the List of the Society's Members for the Year 1767. I can find only four Members who reside in Boston, viz., His Excellency Francis Bernard, James Apthorp, Hugh Hall, and John Temple, Esqrs. To all these Gentlemen I am personally unknown. I am utterly at a Loss to conceive, that I have ever given any Occasion to them to treat me in so injurious and cruel a Manner, as I find myself treated in that Letter. I can not therefore suppose, that any one of these Gentlemen was the Author of it. It remains then with Dr. *Chasney* to produce his Author, or to take the Letter, with all its *Fraud, Forgery, Villany, Scandal, Falschood, and Baseness*, upon himself.

To you therefore, most venerable Doctor, I now beg Leave to address myself. Possibly you may think I treat you with too great Freedom; that your Age, Station, and Character should exempt you from it. Age is not an Excuse for such base Conduct as you have been guilty of, and therefore it ought not to screen you from the Consequences of it. My Station and Character (save the Article of Learning) are equal to yours; and if you think that some Regard is due to the Station and Character, you ought to have considered, before your illiberal Attack upon me. . . . You have been at the Pains of sending an anonymous Letter 250 Miles, directing it to be printed in a *public News-Paper*, that it might circulate far and wide, in order to wound the Character of a Man, utterly unknown to you, who never did, nor intended to do, you any injury; . . . and who was even innocent of the heinous Crime of having *contradicted* you. When you coolly and calmly consider this Part of your Conduct, I cannot but hope you will feel *some* little Compunction of Heart; *some*, if they be *slight*, Rebukes of Conscience; *some* Tendency, at least, towards a Blush. What Reparation you will think proper to make me, I know not; but that *some* Reparation *ought* to be made, you must be sensible. The Bread of myself and Family; nay more, my Usefulness as a Minister of Christ, depend upon *that* Character, which you have cruelly sported with, and most unjustly endeavored to

29 deprive me of. . . . These Things, Sir, I say, not for my own Sake, but for yours; to make you sensible of the Iniquity of your Conduct; and to bring you, if possible, to Repentance and Amendment. For my own Part, tho' it would but ill become me to boast, yet I trust, that within the narrow Circle of my Acquaintance, my reputation is too well established to be shaken by such Attempts. If therefore you choose to persist in the Way of Defamation, and had rather endeavour to vindicate what you have done, than like an honest Man, and a good Christian, to repent and retract it, you have my free Consent to act as is most natural and agreeable to your Inclinations.—From the New York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury, for Monday, Dec. 19, 1768, [No. 894,] and Monday, Dec. 26, 1768, [No. 895.]

We now leave this Letter to the consideration of our readers.—As an illustration of the utter unscrupulousness with which the enemies of the Church strove to carry their point in a matter of such magnitude, the record is astounding.

Passing from this division of our reply, we would sum up the controversy which, according to the *Recorder's* unwarrantable assertion, displayed the "dangerous tenets" as well as the "violence" of Seabury, in the words of no less than the venerable Bishop White. The italics are our own.

"What a wonderful change has the author lived to witness, in reference to American Episcopacy! He remembers the ante-Revolutionary times, when the presses profusely emitted pamphlets and newspaper disquisitions on the question, whether an American bishop were to be endured; and when threats were thrown out, of throwing such a person, if sent among us, into the river; *although his agency was advocated for the sole purpose of a communion submitting itself to his spiritual jurisdiction.*"*

"It is true," the Bishop proceeds, "that the subject was entangled with the *affirmed* danger of subserviency to the designs of the government of the Mother country, in her hostility to the rights of her colonies." But he adds his own conviction, that these "pretensions of the anti-Episcopalian opposition to the measure," were but "specious," and that it was a real "hardship" from which those who sought the Episcopate were striving to be relieved. This brings us to the heading, "Bishops to be Disloyal and Venal."

We must bear in mind that all this while William White was a student of theology in Philadelphia, by no means, may we suppose, an uninterested spectator of a contest in which his

* Memoirs, 2d edit., p. 266.

old instructor, Dr. William Smith, bore a prominent part in support of the "few clergymen of the Extreme High-Tory and High-Flying sect," and which engaged the attention and commanded the pens of the ablest men the Church then numbered among her ministry. If then, as the *Recorder* is pleased to assert, without offering the shadow of a proof, the "Address from the Clergy of New York" to the Church in Virginia, contained expressions which must necessarily have "deeply wounded one of Bishop White's patriotism and piety," or if this "Address" sustained, in Bishop White's view, the "*Recorder's* assertion, that "Bishops" were "to be disloyal and venal," and that "the way to keep a minister from serving his country, was to secure for him a stipend from the crown," it is surely strange that the patriotic and pious White did not, somewhere in his voluminous writings, say so, instead of leaving on record, as he has done, his own recollections of this whole controversy, affirming the very points at issue between us and the *Recorder*. But, it may be said, that the objectionable paragraph quoted by the *Recorder* still remains, and must be explained. Yes, and we give it *in full* as it stands in the "Address" referred to, and submit the matter to the reader's judgment, merely remarking that at the time it was written and published, both White and Seabury, and all the inhabitants of the American Colonies, were subjects of the English Government; and that the thought of independence had not entered the mind even of the most foreseeing. We might add, that the very provision that the American Bishops should be supported at home, was no provision of late date engrafted into the plan to lessen the independence of those who should be consecrated to this missionary Episcopate, but an original feature of Bishop Butler's proposing, and designed by him to meet the Dissenters' objection, who had expressed a fear that *they*, or the provincial governments, might be taxed to support Episcopacy.*

"But," says the Address in question, "of all Things that have been objected against the Episcopate under Consideration, nothing is more wild and extravagant than the Assertion, that it will tend to *weaken* the Connection between Great Britain and her Colonies; and there is nothing which the Favorers of the Plan more

* *Vide* Chandler's Life of Johnson, English Edition, pp. 163, 169.

31 *detest and despise, than such an Imputation. By weakening this Connection, is undoubtedly meant, endangering the Dependence of the Colonies upon the Mother Country, or exciting a Disposition in the Americans to throw it off. Surely the Bishops themselves would not willingly contribute to such an Event! It is absurd to suppose that any Bishops will be appointed from home, but such as are of unquestionable Loyalty to the King and Fidelity to the Government: And it is hoped that the Air of the Colonies is not so infectious, but that the Bishops may freely use it in Respiration, without danger of its corrupting their Loyalty. Yet should all other Securities fail, it will be an effectual Bar against their promoting the Interdependency of the Colonies, that the Fund from which they are to be supported, according to our Plan, is in England, and not in the Colonies. For it is not to be imagined, that they would go to risque a certain Support, in the precarious Project of a Revolution.*

"The Appointment of Bishops, therefore, cannot weaken the Connection between Great Britain and her Colonies, but by the natural Effect it would have upon the Americans themselves. The Americans consist of Two large Bodies, the Members of the Church of England, and those that dissent from it, of various Denominations: And it may easily be shewn that, in all Probability, the Appointment of the Bishops requested would have a contrary Effect, both upon Churchmen and Dissenters.

"As to the former, we believe their Loyalty to be firm, and do not suspect that it will fail under any Trial. But if any Thing can impair it, it must be an Opinion of Oppression, or that they are not allowed, under the British Government, the Enjoyment of their just Rights: And notwithstanding all that can be said or done to the contrary, by the before-mentioned *Protesters*,* or their Abettors, a great Majority of the Episcopalians in the Colonies will always reckon the free Exercise of their Religion, IN ALL ITS OFFICES AND ACTS† among their just Rights; and will think that they have Reason to complain, until this be granted them.

"And as to the Dissenters, it is ungenerous to suppose, that an Appointment which is known to have no Design nor Tendency to injure them, would disoblige them; and they know that the Episcopate in Question has no Design nor Tendency to injure them, otherwise than by conferring those Benefits upon others, to which they have an undoubted Right, and of which they themselves have been long in Possession. The Dissenters at present are high in their Professions of Loyalty, and we do not question their Sincerity. But should they hereafter, by any Means, become disaffected to the Government; they would more naturally expect to be countenanced by the Members of the Church, if suffering for Want of the full Exercise of their Religion, than if under different Circumstances; and this Expectation would be some Encouragement, and add some Degree of Vigour, to the Measures which, in such a Case, they might think proper to pursue."‡

Such is the obnoxious paragraph when seen in its original connection. It presents no "positions," as the *Recorder* asserts, that "the Bishops to be appointed were to be loyalists,

* The Rev. Messrs. Henley, Gwatkin, Hewitt and Bland, whose case we have earlier considered.

† Address, pp. 41-43.

hostile to Colonial independence ;" at least in the sense that "Bishops" were "to be disloyal," or that, "in the view of Dr. Seabury and his associates, the way to keep a minister from serving his country, was to secure for him a stipend from the crown." On the other hand, it is a calm and dignified discussion of a question raised by some Episcopalian, who evidently favored the dependence of the Colonies upon the Mother land for every thing, even for ordination, and it takes no little pains to remove such an objection. And it does all this when both Churchmen and Dissenters were "high in their Professions of Loyalty," and when the *Recorder* can but confess that loyalty and allegiance were surely due to the powers ordained by GOD. At the same time, this very statement of the case, of which a garbled paragraph is torn from its connection to add to the odium the *Recorder* would cast upon Seabury, contains the whole argument of the Revolution ;—the "Opinion of Oppression," and the disallowance of the Colonies of "the Enjoyment of their just Rights under the British Government." Instead, then, of teaching disloyalty to America even, or of deeply wounding "Bishop White's patriotism and piety," the patriot Bishop could refer to this very "Address," so obnoxious to the *Recorder*, as containing the full justification of his course in after years.

But we have not reached the bottom of this matter. We call upon the *Recorder* to tell us why it so carefully keeps out of sight the real author of this "Address," and seeks so unwarrantably to stigmatize Seabury as principally responsible for it. This "Address," it is generally understood, was the composition of the Rev. Dr. Thos. Bradbury Chandler of Elizabeth-Town, New Jersey. It was adopted by the Convention of the Clergy of New York and New Jersey. By their order there were appended to it the names of the whole Committee who reported it to the Convention. These names appear in the following order, viz. :

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1.—"SAMUEL AUCHMUTY, D. D. | } The
Committee. | 5.—"RICHARD CHARLTON, M. A. |
| 2.—"THOMAS B. CHANDLER, D. D. | | 6.—"SAMUEL SEABURY, M. A. |
| 3.—"MYLES COOPER, LL. D. | | 7.—"CHARLES INGLIS, M. A. |
| 4.—"JOHN OGILVIE, D. D. | | 8.—"ABRAHAM BEACH, M. A." |

33 Such being the case, we ask, is it a fair statement of the case to represent the "Address" and its "positions," whether good or bad, as the production of "Dr. Seabury and his associates," as the *Recorder* has done, not only once, but twice? Is it ingenuous,—is it just, to keep out of sight the fact that there is no reason to suppose that a single word of the Address was penned by him, and that, of the eight names appended to this document, his name is the last but two? Surely one can but feel that there is special pleading in the *Recorder's* statement in this matter, a special pleading so transparent in its object as to cast discredit upon the whole Article in question.

With the question of "Toryism," or "Loyalty" to the Government of Great Britain, to which he was bound by oaths of Ordination as well as the usual oaths of allegiance, we might in these days, when "loyalty" to Government and an indisposition to enter into revolution or rebellion, have surely no little merit, decline to enter into controversy. We believe, and we are not ashamed to confess our belief, that the "Tories" in the War of the Revolution were conscientious men. We have no sympathy with the efforts made by the *Recorder* to excite prejudice against Seabury alone, or the whole body of "Tories," when regarded simply as such, by bandying forgotten terms of opprobrium and raking afresh the ashes of fires long since burned out. We respect and admire the course of WILLIAM WHITE, then a young Clergyman of Philadelphia, in espousing the popular cause in which his dearest friends and the majority of his fellow-citizens were embarked. We accord to him the praise of acting conscientiously, and of following out the principles of his training and choice. We can see now that he was right, but shall we say that those were not equally conscientious who at personal hazard, through trial and persecution and the loss of all things, stood firm to, we may now call it, a mistaken allegiance, and tried both to fear God and honor the King? It argues certainly a very narrow mind—it is surely far from the impartiality we usually expect in a student of history, to deny that honesty and conscientiousness and firm integrity belong to no one side or party. But we care not to discuss a question like this. We shall content us with an examination of the pe-

34
 culiar offences charged against Seabury. "He hurried," we are told, "to heap the most unclerical and insulting denunciations on the Revolution." In proof of this, it is stated that his name appears *third* on the protest signed at White Plains, declaring the protester's "honest abhorrence of all unlawful Congresses and Committees." This hardly sustains the charge; and even if it did, this step was taken before even the *Recorder* can assert that we had a claim to nationality independent of the Mother country. We confess that when we find in this and similar protests, the names of many of our most honored and most trusted citizens,—men to whom were subsequently entrusted the highest posts of honor and duty in our National and Ecclesiastical councils, when peace was gained and, with it, independence,—that we fail to see that Seabury was so deeply culpable at this early date in expressing in common with many of his parishioners and friends, his and their determination, "at the hazard of our lives and properties, to support the King and Constitution; and that we acknowledge no Representatives but the General Assembly, to whose wisdom and integrity we submit the guardianship of our rights, liberties and privileges." There is nothing in this "protest," justifying the *Recorder* in its unmeasured denunciation of Seabury, as hurrying "to heap the most unclerical and insulting denunciations against the Revolution." And the mere fact of his signature appearing on a loyal Address, either before the Declaration of Independence, or even at a *later* date,—as was the case, among others, with that of Benjamin Moore, the successor of the intensely patriotic Provost in the New York Episcopate,—or the further fact of his "disloyalty" to America, in which offence Edward Base, afterward Bishop of Massachusetts, and William Smith, D. D., first Bishop-elect of Maryland, were also implicated, is not enough to condemn a man in these days, when our best historical students are almost too anxious to excuse the Loyalists of the Revolution.†

* Bartow's Westchester Church, p. 86.

† It should not be forgotten, that in Eastern Massachusetts, where the most intelligent and influential of the Puritan Ministers of New England resided, a large number of those Ministers, as well as the Clergy of the Church, were loyalists or 'tories."

35
 With reference to his arrest, we quote the plain unvarnished facts as stated in Bartow's History of the Westchester Church, (page, 89,) and made up, as appears from the abundant foot notes, from the *verba ipsissima* of the Journals of the Provincial Congress of New York and the Documentary History of that State.

"This invasion of the territory of New York, and violent removal of its citizens, called forth a strong remonstrance from the Provincial Congress to Governor Trumbull, who demanded Mr. Seabury's 'immediate discharge.' The more especially as, considering his Ecclesiastic character, which, perhaps, is venerated by many friends of liberty, (Journal of N. Y. Prov. Cong. I. 214, 492.) The severity that has been used towards him may be subject to misconstructions, prejudicial to the common cause. Mr. Seabury was accordingly set at liberty, and returned to his parish. (Doc. Hist. of N. Y. III, 1062.)

The Editor of the *Recorder* is acquainted with the legal value of words and phrases, and well understands, we may not doubt, the difference between an "arrest," as he styles Seabury's seizure, and what the Provincial Congress, composed of patriots, regarded as an "invasion of the territory of New York and violent removal of its citizens;" and even we, who are not legal gentlemen, can see the difference between "escaping from their custody," as the *Recorder* states it, and the "immediate discharge" secured by the "Friends of Liberty" themselves for Seabury out of regard to his "Ecclesiastic character" and the "misconstructions, prejudicial to the common cause," "the severity used toward him" might excite. As to the touch of pathos contained in the *Recorder's* glowing picture of Seabury's desertion of his parishioners, as though it was voluntary on his part, and not compelled by actual abuse and imminent peril,—as to statements such as these,—"Perhaps there was scarcely a family among those to whom Dr. Seabury ministered, whose dearest interests were not involved in Colonial success,"—"Husbands—brothers—sons, were under arms in Washington's command,"—"Homes and sustenance would be sacrificed if the invader triumphed"—etc., we have but to turn from these bare assertions of the *Recorder*, to Seabury's own words, confirmed as they are by historic authorities. "Many families of my parishioners are now in this town," writes Seabury from New York in March, 1777, "who used to live decently, suffering for

common necessities. I daily meet them, and it is melancholy to observe the dejection strongly marked on their faces, which seem to implore that assistance which I am unable to give. To pity and pray for them is all I can do.* It were easy to prove that a large majority of Seabury's parishioners were "tories," and consequently, if the *Recorder's* argument proves anything, that Seabury, by its own showing, did what he should in sustaining their cause.†

And how was it when the War was over, and the "loyalist" clergyman who had, as he thought, obeyed the powers ordained of God, till peace freed him from his old allegiance, was now a Bishop of a free and independent State? We find him at once entering heartily into the new political relations with which his lot was now to be cast, and accommodating himself, as did countless others, who had been consistent and conscientious "tories," to an accomplished fact. This, we know, the *Recorder* doubts, and in fact, denies. Our view of the matter is this: that, with the Peace, Seabury ceased to be a "Tory." This view is confirmed by the words of his most intimate friend, the Rev. Jacob Duché, with whom Bishop Seabury staid while in London, and who writes to Dr. White, that "good Bishop Seabury" "goes over" "perfectly disposed to yield Allegiance to y^e Civil Powers in your States."‡ In England he considered himself, the same authority informs us, "as a foreign Bishop."|| Immediately on his return, he became a citizen of Connecticut, and in the first Convocation of his clergy, made the changes requisite for accommodating the English Prayer Book to our present political state,—the only changes that were made;—and then, as the following interesting document, printed from Bishop Seabury's MS. Letter Book proves, lost no time in communicating with the civil authorities of the State, the full assurance of the loyalty of the Church in Connecticut.

"His Excellency Samuel Huntington Esquire, Governor of the State of Connecticut.
SIR.

New London, Oct. 14, 1786.

The Convocation of the Episcopal Clergy in this State having, in their late Meeting at Derby, directed the inclosed forms of Prayer for the United States of Amer-

* Bartow's Westchester Church, p. 100.

† *Vide*, Hawkins' Missions of the Ch. of Eng. pp. 305, 306.

‡ Re-print of the Old Journals, Hawks' and Perry's ed. p. 639. || *Ibid*, I, p. 640.

ices in Congress assembled, to be inserted in the Liturgy, and used in the celebration of Divine Service, I have taken the liberty to make this communication to your Excellency, thinking it my duty to lay all our transactions, in which the State is in any wise concerned, before the Supreme Magistrates. We feel it to be our duty, and, I assure your Excellency, it is our willing disposition, to pray for and seek to promote the peace and happiness of the Country in which we live, and the stability and efficacy of the Civil Government under which God's Providence has placed us: And we persuade ourselves, that in the discharge of this duty, we have not derogated from the freedom, sovereignty, or independence of this State. Should your Excellency's sentiments be different, I shall presume to hope for a communication of them, that due regard and attention may be paid to them.

Begging the best blessings of Heaven for your Excellency, both in your private and public capacity, I remain with great regard and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

S, Bp. Connect.

We learn, from a letter written by Bishop Seabury to Mr. Parker of Boston, that this step was delayed till the date this communication bears, only from the fact that at the *first* Convocation the Clergy decided to seek the advice of the civil authorities as to the wording of the "State Prayers," and, failing to receive directions on this point, after a suitable delay proceeded as above. Surely this may settle the question of Seabury's speedy conformity to Republican Institutions and principles.

Denying, emphatically, that *he* can be proved to have ever asserted "that the source of salary determined the minister's politics," and consequently the inference the *Recorder* attempts to draw from its own misrepresentation of the facts of the case, we pass to the heading "No Bishops but himself." We find "docketed away by Bishop White, among his correspondence left for publication, without one word of contradiction,"—aye, more than this,—“we find published by Bishop White himself, Bishop Seabury's words, “whatever I can do consistently to assist in procuring Bishops in America, I shall do cheerfully, but beyond that I cannot go; and I am sure neither you, nor any of the friends of the Church, would wish I should.”*

And yet, the charge is made by the *Recorder*, to the effect

* Bishop Seabury's Letter to Dr. Smith, under date of August 15th, 1785, published in White's Memoirs, 2nd ed., pp. 286—292. Repub. from the original MS. preserved among the Bishop White MSS. in Hawks' and Perry's re-print of the Journals,—Notes, pp. 446—452.

that "the War was hardly over, before we find him, (Seabury,) covertly, it is true, but none the less bitterly, resorting to his old weapons." And in support of this charge, and the further amplification of it as follows, "that Bishop Seabury, impelled by the same disloyal spirit and turbulent temper, should have sought such an agency" as "Rivington's *Gazette*" "to thwart his American brethren who were seeking Episcopal orders from the regular Anglican line, and in order to do so, should have published a caricature of their proceedings, replete with falsehood and prevarication," is adduced the authority of Bishop Provoost, as quoted by the writer of this rejoinder in his former Article, and the charge is supposed to be confirmed, because "docketed away by Bishop White," &c., and because "issued to the world without denial by parties" (*ourselves*, it must be borne in mind) "who had the means of refutation at their control, and every desire, if possible, to show the assertion to be untrue." We are perfectly willing,—for the *Recorder* evidently thinks that it has capped the climax here,—to rest the whole case in question on the justice of the *Recorder's* inferences on this single point.

So far as our neglect to use "Rivington's *Gazette*," (still, as we are informed, "on file in more than one of the public libraries in New York,") "to contradict Bishop Provoost's assertion," we can but state, that we quoted the letter, simply to show the *animus* of the Bishop of New York towards his brother of Connecticut, never for a moment supposing that any one would regard so unlikely a statement, couched in such jaundiced terms, as "authority." But since it is so regarded by the *Recorder*, in its anxiety to add something more that should seem to its readers "discreditable to either Bishop Seabury's candor or his Church loyalty," we produce the article in question, premising that "Rivington's *Gazette*" had ceased to exist sometime before this communication appeared,* and consequently that it must be sought in some other paper than that so confidently appealed to by the *Recorder*. But this is a trifling error, compared with the eager reception of Provoost's

* *Vide* Duyckinck's *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, I., 279.

39 testimony, without investigation. If there are *misstatements*, much less "falsehood and prevarication," in this Article, we give up the controversy. If there are none, the intelligent and impartial reader may judge by the same token the honesty of Bishop Provoost and the *Episcopal Recorder*.

"We are informed that about twenty of the Episcopal Clergy, joined by delegates of Lay gentlemen, from a number of the congregations in several of the Southern States, lately assembled in Convention at Christ Church, Philadelphia, revised the Liturgy of the Church of England, (adapting it to the late revolution,) expunged some of the creeds, reduced the thirty-nine articles to twenty in number, and agreed on a letter, addressed to the Archbishops and the Spiritual Court in England, desiring they would be pleased to obviate any difficulties that might arise on application to them for consecrating such respectable clergy as should be appointed, and sent to London from their body, to act as Bishops on the Continent of America, where there is at present only one Prelate dignified with Episcopal powers, viz. the Right Reverend Dr. Samuel Seabury, Bishop of the apostolical church in the State of Connecticut.—Hitherto, Mr. Pitt, the British minister, has vehemently opposed all applications preferred for consecration to sees in America; this discouragement occasioned Bishop Seabury to secure his consecration from three of the Bishops in Scotland, which proves as perfectly valid and efficient, as though obtained from the hands of their Right Reverences of Canterbury, York and London; and is incontrovertibly proved by a list of the consecration and succession of Scots Bishops since the revolution in 1688, under William the third.—From "The New York Packet, [No. 537.] for Monday, October 31, 1788.

It is painful to be obliged thus to add facts to facts, and references to references in this work of ours, of clearing away the misrepresentations of the *Recorder's* Article; but it is a task that truth and justice alike demand. We proceed to the charges brought against Bishop Seabury by Granville Sharp, and reproduced by the *Recorder*, in this strange Article. Beginning with a renewal of the charge of disloyalty, it reproduces a statement found in Prince Hoare's life of Sharp, without adverting to the fact, that on the appearance of this volume, long after Bishop Seabury's death, Bishop White at once appeared in print, in vindication of the memory of Seabury, convicting both the biographer of Sharp, and Sharp himself, of errors sufficiently numerous to throw discredit upon the whole work. We leave this portion of Seabury's defence in the best hands, as we quote from Bishop White the following paragraphs. Our readers can readily judge, whether the assertion of the *Recorder* in a subsequent issue, that "Bishop White did not touch the real

point at all" in this defence is correct. At any rate the point 40 of accuracy, the point of fact, is touched, and that too with no uncertain testimony. After speaking in general terms of the work of Mr. Hoare, the Bishop of Pennsylvania proceeds :

"It is therefore lamented by your present correspondent, that on the 213th page of the said book, there should appear an unfavourable and erroneous representation of the character of the late Bishop Seabury, professed to be taken from the manuscript of Mr. Sharpe. It is as follows :—

"Dr. Seabury, on coming to England, called on the Archbishop of Canterbury for consecration, to the great surprise of the Archbishop, who was apprehensive that it might give offence to the Americans, with whom we had just then made peace; and therefore, his Grace (the very worthy and learned Dr. Moore,) wished to be allowed some time to consider of his request: upon which, Dr. Seabury very abruptly left the room, saying, 'if your Grace will not grant me consecration, I know where to obtain it,' and immediately set off for Aberdeen."

Dr. Seabury arrived in London on the 7th of July, 1783, and did not set off for Aberdeen until a short time before his consecration, on the 11th of November, 1784. In the interval, he had considerable intercourse with the English prelaty, on the subject of his mission. This might be made to appear from sundry letters of his private correspondence, and by credible testimony of conversations held by him after his return. But the view shall be limited to his letters to the clergy of Connecticut, published in the *Churchman's Magazine*, in the year 1806.

It appears, that soon after his arrival, he first waited on the Bishop of London, Dr. Lowth; probably, because the Bishops of London had been diocessans of America. This Bishop 'mentioned the state oaths in the ordination offices as impediments; but supposed that the King's dispensation would be a sufficient warrant for the Archbishops to proceed on.' Thus writes Dr. Seabury, and then adds—'But upon conversing with his Grace of Canterbury, I found his opinion rather different from the Bishop of London. He received me politely, approved of the measure, saw the necessity of it, and would do all he could to carry it into execution. But he must proceed openly, and with candour. His majesty's dispensation, he feared, would not be sufficient to justify the omission of oaths imposed by act of Parliament. He would consult the other Bishops; he would advise with those persons, on whose judgment he thought he could depend. He was glad to hear the opinion of the Bishop of London, and wished to know the sentiments of the Archbishop of York. He foresaw great difficulties, but hoped they were none of them insurmountable.'

It was highly indecorous, if Dr. Seabury, after such a reception, abruptly left the room, first having threatened the Archbishop with an application to Scotland, and immediately proceeding to carry the threat into effect.

But, on recourse to his letter of the 16th of August, 1783, the following facts appear. Dr. Seabury repaired to York, on a visit to the Archbishop of that province, to whom the application from Connecticut had been addressed, in consequence of the decease of Archbishop Cornwallis; the promotion of Dr. Moore to the primacy not being known in America. There ensued a correspondence between the two Archbishops. Difficulties occurred: among which, as appears from Mr. Hoare's book, (p. 231,) was the opposition of the Lord Chancellor; whose opinion, as he

was Speaker of the House of Lords, would, of course, have great weight. Dr. Seabury, seeing no end of the negotiation, after a stay of more than a year, repaired to Scotland.

The result of these facts, is the conviction, that there must have been a misunderstanding in the mind of that excellent man,—Mr. Sharpe. It does not appear, that the business of Dr. Seabury was known to him, until after it was over. He entertained sentiments unfavourable to the Scottish Episcopacy. Now, altho' there was no-ground, on which the Episcopal Church in America, severed as it had become from England, could reject a Successor: from this source, allowance should be made for the scruples of a loyal Englishman, in relation to a College of Bishops, still dependent for the exercise of their function on a Pretender to the British Crown;* for this was considered by Mr. Sharpe as their situation in the very case of Dr. Seabury, as appears on the 212th page of the biography. The mind of Mr. Sharpe being in this case, it is no injury to his memory to suppose, that he may have misapprehended the narrative of the interview in question, even if it came to him from his Grace of Canterbury. This, however, does not appear in the extract from the manuscript, but is added by Mr. Hoare.

It ought not to be deemed indelicate to the latter gentleman, to suppose that he may have misapprehended in this instance, it having certainly happened to him in another; where he says, (page 230.) concerning the two Bishops, consecrated on the 4th of February, 1787, that they were introduced to the Archbishop by Mr. Sharpe. It appears, from a late work, entitled 'Memoirs of the Episcopal Church,' and written by one of these Bishops, that they were introduced by His Excellency, John Adams, Esq., then Minister at the Court of Great Britain.†

The Bishop, who, on this occasion, writes over the appropriate signature of "Vindex," proceeds to correct several other grave errors in this work, so much relied on by the *Recorder*, as a task "due to historic truth," as well as the "discharge of a debt to private character." We proceed, simply remarking in passing, that the abundant MSS. authorities in our hands go far, incidentally and directly, to confirm the Bishop of Pennsylvania's vindication, and leave no doubt as to the existence of most glaring inaccuracies in Mr. Sharpe's account. As for Bishop White's refusing to admit persons, ordained by Bishop Seabury, into his pulpit, at a certain stage of the business of securing the Episcopate in the English line, we have only Bishop Provost's authority for it, an authority the *Recorder* must by this time be disposed to receive with grains of allow-

* This, as we shall subsequently prove, was a mistake,—another of the many inaccuracies of Mr. Sharpe, in which he has been followed by the *Recorder*.

† Republished in the *Churchman's Magazine*, I, pp. 182-184, 1821, and there referred to the "Christian Journal," of Philadelphia.

ance. If it is so, and we do not intend to deny it, it is to be explained as a measure designed for peace. It could not have arisen from political disagreement, as we have Bishop White's written testimony directly to this point, in a Letter now in our hands, and dated August 6th, 1787, long before the union, White had from the first, and, as he says, "all along," been desirous of effecting, was consummated.

"I will be very explicit with you on y^e Questions you put in regard to an Union with Bp: Seabury & y^e Consecration of Dr. Griffith. On y^e one hand, considering it was presumed a third was to go over to England, that y^e Institutions of y^e Church of that Country require three to join in y^e Consecration, & that y^e political Situation of y^e English prelates prevents their official knowledge of Dr. Seabury as a Bishop, I am apprehensive it may seem a Breach of Faith towards them, if not intendd Deception in us, were we to consecrate without y^e usual Number, & those all under y^e English Succession; altho' it would not be inconsistent with this Idea, that another Gent^l, under a different Succession, should be joined with us. On y^e other hand, I am most sincerely desirous of seeing our Church, throughout these States, united in one Ecclesiastical Legislature; & I think that any Difficulties which have hitherto seemed in y^e way might be removed by mutual Fortearance. If there are any further Difficulties than those I allude to, of Difference of Opinion, THEY DO NOT EXIST WITH ME; and I shall be always ready to do all in my Power to bring all to an Agreement.*"

And this, it should be borne in mind, was written after the following plain statement of the matter, as viewed at the North, made by Mr. Parker, not long before, in a letter to White:—

"When the Convention discouraged the settling more clergymen in your States, under Bishop Seabury's Ordinations, if they meant to limit it during the pending of your Application to England, and were actuated therein from a principle of not doing any thing that might possibly give umbrage to the English Bishops, it may be a prudent Step; but if it was not from this motive, it seems to be a declaring war agt him at a very early period, and forebodes a settled and perpetual enmity."

And Mr. Parker, in a friendly letter to his correspondent in Connecticut, the Rev. Bela Hubbard, under date of June 18th, 1787, speaks most plainly of Bishop White's—

"Having frequently expressed his mind to me by Letter, of a readiness to coalesce with his Northern brethren, and to form one Church in all the essentials of Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship. Some strong Prejudices upon the old Score of Politics still remain in the minds of the New York Gentlemen agt Bishop Seabury and therefore of their Bishop your Deponent saith not"

* From the original MS. preserved among the Bishop Parker Correspondence.

43 But enough of this. Bishop Seabury is now accused of "Church Extravagance," and this "second point" is considered under three heads: "His personal pretensions,—his Episcopal title,—and his Theological tenets." We care very little for the conflicting traditions as to the "shovel hat and silk-apron," both of which we have seen on a "Lord Bishop," in our own age and on this side of the ocean. At a time when questions of dress and title had not been settled, and when the only available precedents were those, that Seabury possibly implicitly, and White not so fully, followed, it is a poor argument to sustain the charge of "personal pretensions," by an appeal to one's dress. As for the adoption of the baronial style in his signature, we have elsewhere shown that he was not alone in this peculiarity, even in the American Church. Bishops Bass and Jarvis did the same; and from the fact that we have searched Russel's Continuation of Keith's List of Scottish Bishops, and Skinner's Annals of Scottish Episcopacy, and the original documents of Seabury's Consecration, in vain, for an instance of the assumption of this style by the non-Juring Bishops of Scotland at this period, there is reason to believe that Seabury, and those who followed his example, conformed more closely to English precedent than to Scottish, in this controverted matter. As for the change in signature which "strikes" the Recorder "as the true state of the case,"—"that, while Bishop Seabury, on his Consecration, adopted all the usages of the Bishops under whom he claimed, he gradually accommodated himself in this, as he did in his political opinions, to the tone of the Communion into which he sought admittance,"—there is simply no more foundation for the one statement than the other. The usual signature of the Bishop was "S.," or "Samuel, Bp. Connect.," varied by the occasional adoption of "Samuel, Bp. Connect.," or "S., Bp. Conn. et Rho. Ins.," after his election to the Episcopate of the latter State. Among many letters, friendly or official, of the first Bishop of Connecticut, now in our hands, only one is subscribed "Samuel, Connect.," and that is a hurried note to a personal friend.

The *Recorder*, after a passing remark as to "the treatment Connecticut bestowed on her first Bishop,"—in which the only references given in support to its historical *resumé* are a letter it confesses to be an absurd fabrication, and an incident quoted from Bishop Chase, and which happened in *Boston*, and not in Connecticut,—proceeds to assail the Scotch Succession, which we have elsewhere defended, and then goes on to devote the remainder of its Article to Bishop Seabury's "Extravagance" in his Theology, adducing in proof of this statement the incident related by Bishop White in his *Memoirs*. (page 55.) The words used by Bishop Seabury, in declining to consecrate the elements according to the English form, viz.,—"To confess the truth, I hardly consider the form to be used as strictly amounting to a Consecration,"—are tortured, to sustain the assertion, that, "according to Bishop Seabury, the whole Church of England, since King Edward's time, has been going through the form of receiving what, in his view, must have been no Sacrament at all."

This is simply ridiculous. Bishop Seabury, by the terms of the "Concordat," entered into, at the time of his Consecration, by himself with the Bishops of the Scottish Church, had agreed to endeavor to introduce certain changes into the Eucharistic Service, rendering it more closely accordant to the Scottish Service, in the retention of the Oblation and Invocation, found in King Edward VIth's Prayer Book. The Clergy of Connecticut deferred the adoption of the proposed changes, but Bishop Seabury doubtless felt bound to effect their introduction "by degrees," through the aid of "the gentle methods of argument and persuasion," as the terms of the "Concordat" required. In his own practice, he would, for consistency's sake, prefer to conform to the Scottish use. He regarded the changes, effected at his suggestion, which, however, comprised little more than the additions to the Communion Office, as it stood in the "Proposed Book," desired by the Maryland Convention a little before,* as answering the terms of the "Concordat;" and he urged upon his people

* *Vide* Dr. Smith's Letter to Mr. Parker in the Notes to Hawks' and Perry's Report of the Old Journals, I., 569, 570.

45 the use of the Consecration Prayer, as we have it now, even before its adoption was required by the Canon of its ratification. Instead, then, of looking to the *Recorder* for its unreasonable explanation of Bishop Seabury's "Theological tenets," as evidenced by these words, we append a Letter copied from his own MS. "Letter book," as expressing his views on the whole matter.

Meest^r Sam^l Freebody, Benjⁿ Gardener, & Freebody, New Port.

GENTLEMEN,

New London, Feb. 24, 1790.

* * * With regard to the Prayer Book which Mr. Smith uses at the Consecration of the Eucharist, I use the same myself, and, after October next it will be used throughout the United States. Nor can I see why the warmest friend of the Church of England should object to it. I have no wish to depreciate the Church of England. She has, I believe, few faults; but the prayer of Consecration in her Communion Office is deficient,—even in the opinion of her ablest vindicators. I shall mention but one deficiency in her Consecration Prayer, viz., that it is not put up to the Almighty Father through the Mediation of Jesus Christ. I could mention more, but I had rather conceal than expose the appearance of a blemish in a Church which I love and honour, and of which I profess myself a Member. The Prayer Mr. Smith uses is nearly the same with that in Edward the 6th's Prayer Book, composed by Crammer, Ridley, etc., which was altered to its present form to please the Presbyterians of Geneva, Germany and England, who gave encouragement that they would come into the Church on that ground, but were not as good as their word. * * * Your affectionate

S. BP CONNECT.

We do not care to follow the *Recorder* through the mazes of its personal discussion with the Rev. Dr. Hallam, of New London, who had sought to correct some of the earlier misrepresentations of that paper. We shall confine ourselves to a few corrections of the *Recorder's* further misstatements, leaving for other hands the question of Seabury's conformity to our Theological standards. The House of Bishops, under the presidency of Bishop White, has recommended the Published Sermons of the Bishop of Connecticut to our Candidates for the Ministry. This, so far as the general character of these discourses is concerned, is enough for us. We think it will be so to most loyal Churchmen of our Communion. But the *Recorder* assumes that Bishop Seabury "brought no Articles with him." This is incorrect, as Seabury and the Church in Connecticut retained the English Book of Common Prayer in

its integrity, saving the changes rendered necessary by the Independence of our Country, up to the day when the use of the present American Prayer Book was required. The *Recorder* further urges "Bishop Seabury's actual hostility to the Articles." It asserts, that, among the earliest measures he took after the Union, "was to try to cut them loose." He "was only defeated in this by the resolute purpose of Bishop White." "Afterwards his vote changed." "Had his vote at the outset prevailed, he not only would have thrown out the Articles, but he would have introduced into the Liturgy entire those anti-Protestant features," &c. All this is again special pleading. Its only foundation is the statement made by Bishop White, that Bishop Seabury, "during the former Convention in Philadelphia, had expressed a doubt, in conversation with the Author and several others, whether it were expedient to have any."* And this expressing "a doubt," not in the House of Bishops, for it is expressly stated by Bishop White as occurring "in conversation with the Author and several others," which precluded its being in the House of Bishops, which then consisted only of Bishops Seabury and White, is magnified by the *Recorder* into "actual hostility,"—an opposing "vote,"—&c., &c. Really, we have hardly patience to proceed with the examination of such arguments!

But we must pass to a few remarks on the *Recorder's* attack on the Scotch Bishops, as "they were, at the time when Bishop Seabury was consecrated." "Then they were both Jacobites and Romanists." "Their political position" was "a crime, as well as an absurdity." "They held their Sees from the Pretender; and the Pretender was then a debauched outlaw," &c. "They were disloyal, therefore, to the Government of Great Britain," "and they were disloyal to the Protestant faith," &c., &c.

What shall we say, when the connection of the Bishops of Scotland with the Pretender, on which the grave charges of the *Recorder* are founded, is absolutely denied by these very Bishops; and that too, with reference to the very time of Seabury's Consecration, and for many antecedent years? In proof

* Memoirs, p. 166.

47 of this, we subjoin the following decisive paragraph from Skinner's Annals of the Scottish Episcopacy :

"As to the other objection, arising from the supposition that the successors of the deprived Bishops not only held a correspondence with the exiled family; but even acknowledged a dependence on it in the exercise of their spiritual authority, and were invested with the Episcopal character in consequence of a recommendation from the Pretender,—our delegate found no difficulty in asserting that this was true only with respect to a very few of our Bishops at a very distant period, and that it could not be justly charged against the present Bishops, who never had any connection with, or dependence on, the exiled family, either in obtaining or exercising their spiritual functions. The authority with which they are invested is not derived from any source that can in the least affect the safety of the State, or the security of the Government under which they live; and they can so far comply with the oath of Supremacy, as to 'testify and declare, that no Foreign Prince, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm.' "

A foot-note to this statement, which we quote from no less a dignitary of the Scottish Church than Bishop Skinner, one of Seabury's Consecrators, still further informs us, that "a few years after" 1720, "all attempts to revive" this dependence on the House of Stuart "were, for the future, prohibited by certain regulations, which have ever since been regarded as the standard of discipline in the Scottish Episcopal Church." These clear and authoritative words effectually dispose of the half-a-column of romance concerning "what Bishop Seabury learned in Scotland." The reference of the *Recorder* to the full account of the Consecration of Bishop Seabury, its preliminary measures, and the "Concordat" itself, as published in Hawks' and Perry's Old Journals,† is a sufficient answer to the assertion, that, "under what circumstances they consecrated him, is not known;" and a further reference to the same work,‡ where it is shown that Seabury had foreseen the fitness of White for the Episcopate, and spoken of it long before it was imparted to him, is, with what we have earlier said, enough to dispose of the allusion to "the Ecclesiastical opponent, who had been agitating to prevent Bishop White's consecration." As for the attempt to delineate the character of the Bishop of Connecticut, it seems to us little worthy of com-

* Pp. 191, 192. † L., pp. 584-628. ‡ L., p. 456.



ment, when coming from one whose mistakes and misrepresentations we have so fully exposed.

One word may be granted us in conclusion. We stated, in our previous Article, our belief, "that but for the success of the good Bishop of Connecticut, in securing Consecration from the Church in Scotland, no application to the English Archbishops and Bishops would have been made, at least, till, from the want of Episcopal authority in guiding and restraining its Councils, the American Church had lapsed into Presbyterianism, or fallen into the sadder disgrace of a departure from the Catholic Faith." This, with other words of ours, the *Recorder*, *ex cathedra*, pronounces "misstatements." In preparing, from a mass of manuscript and printed matter, now in our hands, this rejoinder, our eye has fallen upon the following words, written by the well-informed and accurate Parker, of Boston, in a Letter to Dr. White, dated September 15th, 1786, and,—to quote the *Recorder*,—"docketed away by Bishop White, among his correspondence left for publication, without one word of contradiction."

"I am very sorry to see with what coolness and indifference some of the Gentlemen in your Convention speak of Bishop Seabury, because I foresee that their conduct must create a Schism in the Church. However eligible it may appear to them to obtain the Succession from the English Church, I think there can be no real objection to Dr. Seabury's Consecration, or to the Validity of orders received from him; and I am firmly of opinion that we should never have obtained the Succession from England, had he or some other not have obtained it first from Scotland."

All we ask in this controversy is simple fairness. We have no personal or party ends to subserve in this discussion. We have simply sought to render honor where honor is due, and to contribute the results of long and patient investigation in this matter towards securing a more general appreciation of Bishop Seabury's character and services to the American Church. We trust that the whole subject will be more and more investigated; and if, among its results, there are brought together new materials for our Church's history, or for the elucidation of the life and times of her first Bishop, we shall not regret the moments we have been happy to spend upon it, or the discussions our efforts have, in various quarters, called forth.

